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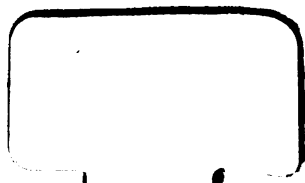
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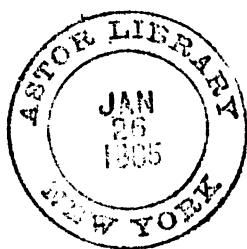
DURING
Anglo-Saxon Times.

BY
HENRY SOAMES, M.A.
EDITOR OF MOSHEIM'S "INSTITUTES."

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PREFACE.

THE volume now offered respectfully to the world, was called forth by a series of animadversions made upon the author's *Anglo-Saxon Church* in Dr. Lingard's *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*. A pamphlet in reply was first intended, but a larger work seemed afterwards likely to be more useful. The matter that provoked so much censure, has a tendency to confirm Englishmen in their affection for unadulterated scriptural religion. This faith is, probably, the main-spring of their national greatness, and is quite above any aid from concealment, misrepresentation, mystification, or evasion. To show that no such arts have been used in compiling the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, is the aim of the following pages. A vindication of the statements brought forward in that book is due to the public, which has received it with a degree of indulgence not often shown to similar works. A sufficient examination of his objections to it is also due to the talented and learned writer, who has found so many openings for impeaching its correctness.

His own preface may furnish an apology for this new attempt to awaken interest in Anglo-Saxon re-

ligious history. "On most literary subjects," he says, "the public mind is guided by the wisdom or prejudices of a few favourite writers, whose reputation consecrates their opinions, and whose errors are often received by incautious readers for truths. In such cases to be silent is criminal, for it helps to perpetuate deception."¹ It is a "favourite writer," who thus expresses himself, and one whose eminence has flowed from very superior literary qualifications. But he has also been greatly favoured by adventitious aids. His early efforts to gain public notice were made when Romanism was only just emerging from that severe dépression which had long made most Englishmen wholly disregard it. Politics, however, soon gave it prominence, and even weight. Catholic emancipation, as the phrase ran, became a leading point in party warfare. Protestants who pleaded for that measure began gradually to think that injustice had been done, not only to the excluded religious body, but also to its opinions. The exclusive system had been scarcely overthrown, before those who had laboured for the change all along came into power. To maintain their new position, they sought aid from Protestant Nonconformity. This, in return, became clamorous for concessions distasteful to the Church. Hence the clergy were driven to think of defensive measures, and some among them turned for aid to the Laudian and non-juring divines. These writers are seldom hard upon Romanism, and often make concessions advantageous to it. Unwonted attention, accordingly, had

¹ *Hist. and Antiqu. of the A. S. Ch.*, Pref., vii.

not long been given to their works before a disposition arose to extenuate, or explain away, old objections to the Romish system. Some individuals within the Church of England even went so far as to disclaim the name of Protestant, and a few actually apostatised from a scriptural faith. Never since the time of James II. did papal advocates receive so much encouragement. Nor has any one of them profited more by this train of favouring circumstances than the learned historian who has animadverted so copiously upon the *Anglo-Saxon Church*. The "reputation," which his abilities and acquirements would have commanded at any time, has been so much augmented by extraneous aids, that it has "consecrated his opinions," and made "incautious readers" implicitly receive from him eloquent statements for unquestionable truths. Those, however, whom no talents can seduce to approve a creed uncontained in Scripture, still think Protestant views of English history likely to be trustworthy. When such views, therefore, are questioned by an able adversary, they may even say as he does, "to be silent is criminal;" it would "help to perpetuate deception."

In order that silence might be broken more effectively, a general review of ecclesiastical history during the Anglo-Saxon period was undertaken. Mere answers to specific accusations would resolve themselves into a dispute between two individuals. Objections to the *Anglo-Saxon Church* have, therefore, generally been considered in the notes, where, it is believed, every one of them may be found. The text does not often contain them, but it follows the

order in which they have been produced. Probably, they embrace all the points that Romish ingenuity can see the hope of bending to its own purposes in Anglo-Saxon religious history. This is an important portion of the Church's annals; but a due consideration of it requires concurrent attention to similar transactions on the continent. Upon this principle, the following work has been written. It is an attempt to spread a knowledge of the whole Western Church during one particular period. Nor does any period in religious history better deserve to be studied, after that of the first three centuries. The Anglo-Saxon rule over England comprises an era during which the Roman bishops became temporal princes, image-worship obtained a synodical recognition, and tradition was pleaded as a sufficient justification of it. Great opportunities of acquiring, extending, and securing influence were thus given to the chief Latin ecclesiastic. Popularity could be successfully sought by pandering to that appetite for Pagan vanities which haunts inferior life and inferior understandings. The traditional principle by which the religious use of images was justified, might find authority for other things agreeable to man, but unsanctioned by the Bible. It has, in fact, built up a system that flatters clergymen with notions of supernatural privileges, and every body else with hopes of eluding responsibility. Divinity, so provided with attractions for every class, could not root itself in human society without taking a very tenacious hold. Nor could it fail of finding some congenial soil, if it should re-appear upon the surface, after it had once been pretty

thoroughly weeded out. No sooner, accordingly, did Romanism feel again some degree of genial warmth from the current of English politics, than it found converts even in quarters which had long supplied only opponents. A turn so unexpected naturally raised unwonted hopes in English Romanists, and made foreigners think England on the point of yoking herself again to the papal car. But none who know the real state of society among us, will entertain any such sanguine expectations. The public mind in England rests upon a basis of scriptural truth. Nor will it suffer a foundation so secure to be undermined. Vain, therefore, is any degree of learning or ingenuity, that would set up something for Christianity which cannot be found in the Bible. However agreeable may be the doctrine, no theory of tradition or development would persuade Englishmen in general to believe it. The hold, accordingly, which extra-scriptural religion has taken upon a few clergymen, chiefly quite young men, has only occasioned regret and surprise in the nation at large. Instead of making people think of renouncing Protestantism, they merely wish themselves rid of all such ministers as have any leaning towards Romanism. The flocks might pity their unfortunate shepherds, but would not follow them.

As religious controversy concerns every Christian, the authorities used in preparing this work have generally been translated. Perhaps learned readers would have rather seen them in their original languages, because thus a judgment could be formed at once upon the translator's fidelity, and the relevancy

of his materials. But readers who understand, either not at all, or quite insufficiently, any language but English, may be glad to find both text and notes fairly open to their judgments. In order to mark the passages produced as versions, they are printed in *Italics*. The references which close them are to the original works. In translating, the object has been strict literal fidelity. This principle is often unfavourable to neatness of diction, and sometimes to intelligibility. But it is very desirable that means of estimating accurately Anglo-Saxon and contemporaneous foreign religious history should be placed within reach of all readers interested in such details. Translations of authorities made for their use obviously ought not to bear the character of paraphrase or comment. In this way, an opportunity would not be fairly given them of judging for themselves.

Many of the authorities, used in compiling the following work, remain untranslated. This is because the sense of them is embodied in the text, either entirely or for the most part. Even when such incorporation was imperfect, it did not seem necessary to give a version, instead of the authority itself. After its purport had been fairly placed before readers of every kind, it could be of little farther use than as a voucher.

Most readers of this volume will be sorry to see several eminent churchmen appear in it under very questionable circumstances. This disadvantage has, however, come to their memories from nothing that reflects upon scriptural religion. They earned it by struggling for secular pre-eminence, or by adopting

practices and principles that gradually provided the Bible with a supplement. Had no efforts been made for maintaining this pre-eminence, and this supplemental creed, infidels would have lost most of their pretences for aspersing Christianity. A habit should be, therefore, formed of distinguishing between a system that bounds belief by Scripture, and one which depends upon additions to the Bible. Let none blame the former, because men, really meritorious in the main, have under the pressure of evil times and strong temptations raised an importance for themselves, by encouraging others in superstitious practices and unspiritualised expectations. The real use of such cases is to serve as warnings against religious principles which do not flow from a source unquestionably divine. To that cast of thought which certainly came down from heaven, they are no reproach whatever.

STAPLEFORD TAWNEY,

May 3. 1844.

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THE LATIN CHURCH

DURING

ANGLO-SAXON TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

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FIXED in the capital of a mighty empire, and long the centre of missionary enterprise, the Church of Rome early eclipsed every other. Her position told most upon the countries to the west and north; eventually the chief seats of civilisation. Their advances in the social scale were made under an habitual deference for the Roman see. They even went so far as to treat its adherents as a sort of impersonation of the universal Church. Catholics is the name they gave them, as if all Christians unconnected with Rome laboured under some kind of religious error. The East never made any such

concession. Christian communities are there established as old as that of Rome, if not older; and they distinguish the Roman as the Latin Church, and its adherents as Latins. Nor is a more comprehensive phraseology correct. Rome is no original seat of the Christian religion, no scene of its holy Founder's ministry and sufferings. These are the glories of Jerusalem. But Christianity could not root itself in an immense metropolis, without acquiring a voice that must be heard and respected over all the provinces. Nevertheless, primitive times do not exhibit provincial churches under subjection to that of Rome. Before the first council of Nice, there is little or no solid appearance of any official authority conceded at a distance to the Roman see. Remote Christian bodies naturally looked up to it, on account of its position. It was occupied by the most important of Christian ecclesiastics, because his congregation was in the most important of cities. References were sure to flow in upon a prelacy so conspicuous from distant parts, because it carried a degree of weight that could be found nowhere else. Rome was the city that concentrated the wealth, information, and greatness, almost every way, of the Roman world. After Constantine, this world was distinctly marked out into two different hemispheres. The court had migrated eastward, and it became Greek, though continuing to call itself Roman. Still, the ancient capital retained much of its immemorial importance: enough to make it the centre of a religious body, which could be designated in no manner so appropriately as Latin, in contradistinction to the

Greek, organised elsewhere. Each of these churches took up the language of the city in which its chief see was placed. The Eastern worshipped in Greek, the Western in Latin. This was perfectly reasonable, when the two liturgies were severally framed, and nothing else, probably, would have been endured. But it has outlived its powers of usefulness everywhere; and in the West, Latin devotions were thrust upon people that never could understand them. Such pertinacity and obtrusion are incapable of any rational defence. They serve, however, to confirm the propriety of designating the two churches as they are designated in the East. None, who think of Romish services, can deny them to be remnants of the ancient Latin Church. Those who use them, therefore, may call themselves as they like; but it is plain that Eastern usage may, with strict correctness, be adopted Westwards, and Roman Catholics receive the name of Latins.

When Rome was no longer the most important of cities, her church was favoured by circumstances which were skilfully improved, in continuing to be the most important of churches. As one way to secure this position, she has constantly striven to reduce all Christian bodies under her authority. She has habitually talked of unity, and meant subjection. Her bishops never could see a church established by any other than Roman missionaries, without forming schemes for undermining its independence. Their advocates would have the world believe, that every such Christian body was originally formed by some sort of papal management. How far such repre-

sentations may be true, and claims founded on them may be sound, need not be here inquired. Nothing more is wanted for present purposes than to observe, that many churches have existed from a very early date, quite unconnected with papal Rome, and owning no kind of subjection to her. When any one of these came within reach of her emissaries, it was invariably charged with something or other amiss, which required Roman intervention to eradicate. A Christian church, of immemorial standing, assailed under this plea, existed in the British isles. The following pages will not only make use of this fact, but also exhibit another such in Germany. Boniface, an English missionary ordinarily known as the apostle of that country, went among people there already Christian, but averse from his own employer, the Roman bishop. In the ninth century, likewise, two Greek monks, Methodius and Cyril, evangelised Moravia and Bohemia. As their mission bore nothing of a Latin character, they could see no necessity for importing a liturgy from Rome. They were also above such a party spirit as would have insisted upon a service-book in Greek. Their converts worshipped in Slavonic, the language which those people spoke. The two Greek missionaries, having had very considerable success, received an invitation to Rome. They went thither in the time of Adrian II., and were assailed with objections to public worship in Slavonic. As they would not give way, it became clear that unless Rome did, her chance of gaining any footing in Bohemia and Moravia would be extremely small. Adrian, accordingly, assented to the propriety of a

service in those countries which the people could understand. So did John VIII., who succeeded him. Above any such rational view, the impracticable Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., was lifted by his own domineering disposition and various temptations to indulge it. He could not rest without forcing his yoke upon Bohemia and Moravia. They were driven to receive the Roman liturgy, though quite unable to understand it. In fact, it was fast growing beyond popular comprehension, even in Italy. Hildebrand's determination to root it in the churches founded by Methodius and Cyril evidently proved a very hazardous experiment. Innocent IV., in the middle of the thirteenth century, was under the necessity of authorising a return to the old Slavonic service.¹ The subsequent revocation of this concession, and complete establishment of the papal system in Bohemia, laid, probably, the foundation of that contempt and hatred for Latin usages which exploded in the Hussite wars of the fifteenth century. In the following century, the popes showed their impatience of any religious authority but their own, in fruitless endeavours to undermine the Church of Abyssinia, then recently become accessible. About the same time similar attempts were made, and with partial success, upon the Syrian Christians of Hindostan.² Thus various times and quarters of the globe exhibit papal ambition eagerly upon the watch to make all Christian bodies vassals of the Roman see.

¹ L'Enfant. *Conc. de Basle*. Utr. 1731. i. 3.

² Mosheim, *Institutes*, iii. 249. Buchanan, *Christian Researches*, Lond. 1814, p. 107.

Serious minds display a short-sighted policy when they hastily dismiss these facts as mere history, or drive them away, as irritating to a large section of the Christian world. No extensive progress can be made in the regeneration of mankind, without a due estimate and use of the provision which Providence has made for that purpose. Man's own intellects are weak, his affections corrupt, and his eagerness to lower moral responsibility is excessive. He neither discerns readily the real properties of solid goodness, nor can bear to think of strenuous efforts to establish it within himself. Rather would he trust in mere advances towards amendment, religious forms, and some clerical privilege to make externals efficacious. Without strong light from on high, he will never see fully the extent of heavenly requirements, and of his own responsibility. Such light is only shot from Scripture. When men talk of it from any other source, they are talking of themselves. They mean to spare and screen themselves. They do but varnish vanity, cupidity, or sensuality; but hoodwink human nature against a due sense of its own acts. All who would give mankind a higher tone must look to Scripture. There may be seen divine communications of indubitable authenticity, and nowhere else. The church of Rome denies the latter of these affirmatives. Her existence hangs upon setting up something to match and master the Bible. Take all her doctrines away, that are neither expressly contained in Scripture, nor provable by it, and she stands forth a Protestant. She cannot make any such surrender, we are authoritatively told, because her extra-scrip-

tural belief rests upon the sacred deposit of some divine tradition.¹ Of late, her advocates have been driven from this plea, and sought refuge in bewildering systems of development. The real authority for tenets professedly divine, but unrecorded in the only book that is divine, will, however, resolve itself into the papal see. Influential religious minds are, therefore, deeply concerned in tracing the upward steps by which the Roman bishops gained their height. Without competently knowing this history, Protestant intelligence is armed but half. It cannot expose, as the welfare of mankind requires, that powerful system which presumes to cast a shade over the unquestionable, because the written, Word of God.

Of papal history, no portion is more important than that between the Anglo-Saxon conversion, and the Norman conquest. Within that space of less than five hundred years, Rome secured all the preliminaries to her subsequent religious monarchy.

¹ The council of Trent sets out upon a principle which has exactly this effect: a fact not known so widely and distinctly as it ought to be. The first among that council's decrees, passed at its fourth session, April 8. 1546, *receives and venerates with a feeling of equal piety and reverence* ("pari pietatis affectu et reverentia") *all the books, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, since one God was the author of them both, and also the TRADITIONS, relating as well as to faith as to morals, inasmuch as, coming either from the mouth of Christ himself, or dictated by the Holy Spirit, they have been preserved in the Catholic church in uninterrupted succession.* (Labb. et Coss. xiv. 746. Bp. Marsh's *Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome*, 23.) Thus, the differences between Romanists and Protestants do not turn, as many people fancy, upon different ways of interpreting Scripture. Romanists find an *equal* or a *match* for Scripture, in tradition. It is obvious, that in matching a circumscribed authority with an uncircumscribed one, the uncircumscribed must prove the *master*. More will be said upon these matters hereafter, but it was desirable to place them upon a broad intelligible ground at the outset.

One of her movements was eventually rewarded by a firm footing in the British Isles. Her bishop then was Gregory I., from unwearied industry, and many other qualities better still, known very fairly as the Great, Romanists also call him, *Saint*: a title that involves among them much more than becoming homage to departed worth. It is given to such among the dead as are thought likely to hear, if called upon for their prayers. Those who will receive supernatural information from the only known record of supernatural origin, think no such thing likely in the case of any deceased person whatsoever. They view Gregory, therefore, as a good man, long out of hearing. Even his goodness had an alloy of human infirmity, that makes him scarcely fit for the mere honorary title of Saint. But had his virtues taken the highest range within reach of weak and fallible humanity, Scripture speaks of our Lord as the "one Mediator between God and man."¹ Romish divines, undoubtedly, contend for two sorts of mediation, and assign one of them, that of intercession, to saints. This may be an ingenious way of escaping

¹ 1 Tim. ii. 5. "Unus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Jesus Christus." (*Vulg.*) In order to elude the force of this text, Romanists tell us that a mediator may be of two sorts; namely, either a mediator of redemption, or a mediator of intercession. Our Saviour's is considered, of course, the former sort; that of the saints, the latter. But even did not this nicety bear every appearance of having been invented for the purposes of mystification, it would obviously have no bearing upon this text. The Apostle is speaking of "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks." If, therefore, there be properly two kinds of mediation, that of *intercession* is plainly the one intended. It is also expressly attributed to Christ in another scripture, (Heb. vii. 25.) which speaks of our Saviour as "ever living to make intercession for men." *Semper vivens ad interpellandum pro nobis.* It is plain that a continuous intervention of Christ is here intended.

from a difficulty, but it seems adverse to the general current of Scripture. There is reason for deriving paganism from this doctrine of intercessory mediation. The principal heathen gods appear to have been some among the first ancestors of mankind considered able to hear in heaven their posterity below, and willing to urge powerful prayers for them upon the Great Supreme. If it be so, Gentile worship was closely analogous to the Romish invocation of saints. But Gentile worship is irreconcilable with either the Old Testament, or the New. Nor can Romanists make out a good case for their invocation from antiquity. Protestant research has wholly taken this plea from them.¹ Nor can they find any such theory of its operation as would satisfy sensible minds in an ordinary case. If there were a person that had a habit of chanting out appeals to some deceased ancestor, for information as to a much-wanted, but missing box of title deeds, his lunacy would seem clear enough to any jury. He might, however, very fairly reason, that one dead person is just as likely to hear the living in distress as another. The Roman

¹ This is conclusively shown by Mr. Tyler in his *Primitive Christian Worship*, Lond. 1840, and his *Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of Rome*, Lond. 1844. These two works contain particular examinations of the earliest theological authorities, as to the invocation of inferior mediators. It is enough to say here, that no genuine passages in favour of invoking saints can be produced within the first four centuries. This is quite conclusive against the practice, and its advocates, when pressed by such evidence, have been driven to the necessity of saying, that, although the primitive church invoked saints, the fathers were careful to say nothing about it, for fear of giving heathens a ground for charging the Christians with merely changing the old set of divinities for a new one. (See Tyler's *Primitive Worship*, 190.) Now, this allegation is not only merely gratuitous, but it also implies an admission that the Romish invocation of saints is nothing else than the old Pagan worship under a new name.

church strives to be heard by the departed: why should not he take a lesson from her? When the officiating minister says *sancte* this, or *sancta* that, and the choir responds, *ora pro nobis*, what is this but calling on the dead? It is argued, of course, that such dead persons as are addressed in a Romish litany were of unquestionable sanctity, and have been endued by God, in consequence, with faculties for hearing the appeals of living men. The plea of sanctity has, however, no claim to implicit confidence, except in the cases of the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, the Baptist, the Evangelists, and St. Stephen. With even martyrs it is disputable. What Romanist could hear with patience of invoking Ridley, Latimer, or Cranmer? He would soon find reasons against it, both from the men, and their opinions. An adversary might, undoubtedly, do the same with many ancient martyrs, perhaps, with all of them, if the records of their days were as complete as those of the Reformation. As for the Romish plea, that saints, when dead, can hear the living, it is plainly gratuitous. In fact, no competent authority has gone so far as unhesitatingly to say so. The best writers merely tell us, that Providence may give dead saints the power of hearing men somehow or other.¹ It may also

¹ Bossuet betrays great embarrassment in managing this hypothesis. He supposes that angels may make the saints acquainted with suits from mortals, or that some particular revelation may be made to them, for the purpose, by the Divinity himself, or that such suits may reach them through his divine essence. (*Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church in Matters of Controversy*, Lond. 1735, p. 79.) The last of these three suppositions is mere mystification, and the two former ones are nothing better than idle speculations. When a man like Bossuet is driven upon such miserable shifts, it is perfectly plain that he has a cause in hand which no straightforward advocacy can serve.

bid an Ætna rise at Charing Cross, to deluge Westminster and Middlesex, and dam up the Thames with boiling lava. The question is, has Almighty power shown any indication of acting thus ? And this may be asked as reasonably in the case of saints, as in that of the volcano. Bellarmine finds an answer to it, in the numerous miracles that prove the canonised deceased to have the power of hearing human voices.¹ But accounts of miracles, unsupported by such evidence as a creditable historian would admit, prove only the folly and roguery of mankind. Even the best attested miracles, unrecorded in Scripture, will not stand a sufficient examination. As for the medley of authors, to whom Bellarmine sends his reader, he would never have strung them together, had it been possible to make out a reasonable case for invocation of the dead. Until some better defence is found for this practice, it must take a place among such human things as are unauthorised, improper, and absurd. It serves, however, to trammel even very sharp wits. If

¹ *Controversiæ*. Col. 1615, ii. 297. For these *infinite miracles* (*infinita miracula*), Bellarmine first refers his readers to an epistle of Nilus, read to the second council of Nice, that noted authority for all the absurdities and impostures that have sunk the credit and usefulness of Christianity. The epistle may be seen in Labbe and Cossart's *Councils* (vii. 223.), and the story told in it is not only unsupported, but also positively ridiculous. Bellarmine, however, judiciously gives no particulars, but goes on to cite, in the same way, Theodoret, Ambrose, Austin, Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great, and Bonaventure. Whoever took the trouble to look into the passages indicated would, no doubt, find matter quite worthy of the epistle that rears its head so gravely among the deutero-Nicene records. It is lamentable to see such writing from the pen of a man learned, laborious, able, and excellent at bottom as Bellarmine was ; and it is the more lamentable, because careless and scoffing spirits cannot know anything of these humiliating matters, without making them an excuse to place idle tales and holy truths upon the same level.

they belong to the Latin communion, a dead man canonised is treated by them with unusual tenderness. A searching eye can be cast upon such Christians as perished in the Marian fires because they would only take heavenly knowledge from the only book of heavenly origin. But historical penetration slumbers when there is any danger of raising a doubt as to the sense of naming some dead person, and then saying, *Ora pro nobis*. Not a hint must be given of any thing that might make him unlikely to be invested with omniscience. Those who are under no such bondage look upon all persons not named in the Bible in the same point of view, namely, as historical characters, and nothing more. However unwilling they may be to treat any man's memory with injustice, they cannot consent to view him through a halo of superstition.

This difference of treatment may be exemplified in the particulars of Gregory's connection with Augustine's mission to England. A writer who will take religion only from the Bible naturally follows Bede's history, with some few other ancient materials of an historical character, interspersing the whole, perhaps, with such remarks as the facts appear to warrant. In the course of his narrative he cannot fail to introduce the pretty little tale, so often told, about Gregory's puns in the slave market at Rome¹, but his readers would be sure to know that this is really no part of Bede's history; only introduced as a sort of pendant by the venerable chronicler to his

¹ *Anglo Saxon Church*, 46.

account of Gregory, after that pope's history has all been detailed, and even his epitaph recorded. A writer smitten by tradition or development would naturally think first of the homily; this reverses Bede's arrangement. It gives a glowing account of Gregory's excellences, and then passes off at once to the slave-market story, as the origin of his desire to evangelise England: although Bede merely says that people had long thought so.¹ Thus a Romish narrative following the homily rather than the history, may bring Gregory forward upon legendary stilts, and send incautious readers away with exaggerated notions of the call made upon him by Providence to improve an opening for introducing Christianity to superior Anglo-Saxon life. To people who are to be carried in this way above the sober precincts of history, nothing can be more unsuitable than a plain historical estimate of Gregory's designs on England. These, a mere observer would naturally suggest, were, probably, far from uninfluenced by a desire to counterbalance mortifications Eastward by augmented authority Westward. But he might be very far from wishing to have this taken for Gregory's *great object*.²

¹ Printed by Mrs. Elstob, with a long preface, and English translation, in 1709, and again printed with an English translation for the Ælfric Society, by Mr. Thorpe, in 1845. An earlier authority is Paul the Deacon, who makes, as the homily does, the slave-market tale an introduction to Gregory's concern with the English mission. Dr. Lingard cites this author, who lived, however, two centuries after Gregory's death, but he forbears to say, that Paul speaks with hesitation; a forbearance in which he follows the homily: Paul says, *Of which conversion (the English, namely,) as it is thought, this occasion was divinely given.* Vita S. Greg. Mag. Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Ven. 1733. Sæc. I. 383.

² "Can the reader divine the great object of Gregory in the establishment of this mission? Mr. Soames has recently discovered that it was

Any account fairly given of Gregory's conduct, however unfavourable to Romish views, will probably make readers consider the venerable pope to have been actuated chiefly by higher motives than annoyances from Constantinople, in planning the English mission. But with Gregory, as with even greater men, virtuous purposes might need a stimulus from something lower to render them effective.¹ Of such

to extend his authority in the West, as a counterpoise to the encroaching spirit of his Eastern rivals, the patriarchs of Constantinople." Lingard, i. 22. note.

¹ *Nor should the opinion be passed over in silence, which has come down even to our times about blessed Gregory, from the tradition of our ancestors; as to the cause, namely, which admonished him to take such sedulous care of the salvation of our nation.* (Bed. Eccl. Hist. ii. 89. ed. Stevenson, p. 96.) 'Thus Bede treats this merely as an *opinion* ("opinio"), and asserts no higher authority for it than long currency ("traditione majorum.") The *Anglo-Saxon church* (p. 47.) mentions a fact established by one of Gregory's epistles, namely, that pope's purchase of some young *Anglo-Saxon* slaves, to be educated as missionaries to their native country, and it is conjectured that the slave market story originated in this fact: a very likely process at any time, but more than usually likely in an ignorant age, among gossiping monks, whose heads were full of the marvellous. *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* also mentions the fact established by Gregory's epistle, but gives no hint of its obvious bearing upon the wonderful story. Paul the Deacon, who lived at the beginning of the ninth century, would refer Gregory's English project to the slave market, as a *probable* way of accounting for it, but nothing more. *Of which conversion*, namely, the English, he says, *as it is thought* (ut putatur), *this occasion was divinely given.* (Vita S. Greg. Mag. Acta SS. Ord. Ben. i. 383.) John the Deacon evidently, though not expressly, attributes Gregory's act to the slave market, but he, notwithstanding, relates the tale with some degree of hesitation, introducing it thus, *I have determined upon inserting some things here with which I have become acquainted from the relation of our forefathers, and the writings of former times.* (Vita S. Greg. Mag. Acta SS. Ord. Ben. i. 397.) Mabillon takes the same line, asserting nothing as to the origin of Gregory's design, but first telling the slave story, and then passing at once to the English mission. (Annal. Ord. S. Ben. i. 240.) The *Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church* treads in the steps of Mabillon, thus erecting at once into authentic history what the most ancient authorities treat as a mere tradition, and relating as the indisputable origin of a fact, what the most ancient authorities say was merely an opinion as to that origin.

need in this case, undoubtedly, people would have no suspicion, whose heads are full of saintship, and who desire no farther information than such as papal advocates ordinarily give. But those who disbelieve omniscience in any of the dead, and have read besides some of those particulars of Gregory which Protestant writers will supply, may consider him not at all unlikely to have thought of England in conjunction with Constantinople. This class of readers having fuller information, and no superstitious prejudices, can, in fact, scarcely fail of considering Gregory, though a very good man in his way, and for his time, yet in many things much like other people. In order to strengthen such a view, and, at the same time, to justify Protestant history, a few more particulars of this famous pope are now required for public notice. If a completer portrait of him should rather sink his reputation, it must be pleaded as an excuse, that existing controversy required a greater fulness of detail.

Gregory's religion then was altogether of a popular kind. His habits through life were of that ascetic cast which generally gains upon the unthinking mass of men. His mind's eye dwelt incessantly upon ceremonies and formalities. He seems to have been very much alive to take advantage of the greediness with which inferior understandings swallow marvels. None of these things, however, mark a man intellectually great, or superlatively good. They rather betoken cunning than any higher quality, and are better fitted for making way in the world, than for improving it. The centuriators of Magdeburg, in-

deed, charge Gregory with deliberate imposture for superstitious purposes ¹, and undoubtedly, two of the miracles ascribed to him are exactly such as ordinary legerdemain produces every day.² Belief may, however, fairly be denied to posthumous relations of this kind. But still, Gregory must remain answerable, either for great credulity, or for a disposition to extract good, as he might think his object, out of easi-

¹ *He was very famous for miracles, with which he imposed upon the ignorant people, to make them receive more easily his traditions and ceremonies, which have filled the whole world.* Cent. Magdebb. vi. 878.

² A noble Roman lady came to the communion, having previously brought, according to usage, some bread, as an oblation. A portion of this she recognised in Gregory's hand when it was her turn to communicate, and he observed her smile, as he said, *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ profit thee for the remission of thy sins, and life everlasting.* Her smile made him draw back his hand, put the bread by itself on the altar, and desire the deacon to take care of it until the communion was over. He then asked the lady why she smiled. Because, she said, I knew the little piece in your hand to be a part of the very oblation which I made myself, and offered to you; and I could not help smiling when I found you calling it the body of our Lord. Gregory then addressed the people, and exhorted them to pray God for some demonstration of this unbelieving lady's mistake. After they had done so, he went to the altar, lifted up the cloth, under which the withdrawn portion of bread had been placed, and found, instead of it, a piece of a bloody finger. (*Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* 385. 414.) It is obvious that these two deacons, Paul and John, who thus relate this story, lived too long after the time. The story itself has been alleged as evidence for transubstantiation, and might have been invented for that purpose; but it is really of no great utility for any such object. If it be a real transaction, it would prove that many people did not believe transubstantiation at the time referred to. People were, therefore, then not in the frame of mind now universal among Roman Catholics. Besides, there was no ground for the lady's smile in the customary words used by Gregory. These do not assert the actual presence of Christ's body, but only pray that the communicant might be benefited by Christ's body. *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi prosit tibi.* Nor does the tale itself necessarily imply transubstantiation, or the change of the elements into another substance by the means of consecration, whenever a validly-ordained consecrator intended it. Gregory is represented as having obtained this miracle by the especial prayers of himself and the congregation; and the lady who gave occasion for it, might have really had faith, although clouded for a moment by a temporary

ness of belief, or some petty artifice.¹ Neither supposition will much exalt his character, or establish for him any indisputable claim to rank high among the spiritual benefactors of mankind. Gregory's claim to any such distinction is invalidated besides by his fondness for relics.² An admiration of these

impulse. Thus the story might rather be understood as a proof of the real presence to the faithful, than of that corporal presence which Rome eventually taught. The relation is, accordingly, found in Elfric's famous paschal homily, which so clearly makes against transubstantiation. L'Isle, indeed, considers it an interpolation there, but the homilist might think it useful in keeping people from confounding the consecrated elements with common food.

The second miracle referred to in the text is this:—A person of distinction sent to Gregory for some relics. The pope took his messengers round to various tombs of martyrs, and other places deemed holy, celebrating masses at them all. He then sent the messengers away with some small sealed coffers. On the road, one of them took it into his head to break open one of these coffers, and found nothing in it but a few little pieces of cloth. This discovery led to the violation of the other boxes, and they were found filled in the same manner. Highly indignant at this, the party returned to Rome, exclaiming that their journey would certainly have led them into disgrace, if it had been found, that instead of bringing bones, or other fragments of martyred saints, they had only brought shreds of cloth, which might just as well have been found at home. Gregory now desired the messengers to attend a mass, and at it he recommended in his sermon that the people should pray for some special manifestation of the divine favour. He then struck a knife into one of the rejected cloths, and blood came out. This he explained by saying, that cloths, used as these had been, at masses over the relics of apostles and martyrs, imbibed a portion of their blood. (*Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* i. 386.) This was, of course, quite satisfactory. But modern times would say, that, if either this or the former transaction ever took place at all, it might easily be managed; and that there is nothing to make one believe that it ever did take place at all.

¹ "As for the Dialogues" (Gregory's), "they are filled with miracles and stories so grossly absurd and fabulous, that it would be a reflection on the understanding and good sense of this great pope to think that he really believed them; the rather as for many of them he had no better vouchers than old, doting, and ignorant people." (Bower's *Popes*, ii. 542.) Gregory, however, most likely did believe a good part of these tales, and gave himself little or no trouble about their pretensions to credibility. He thought them likely to do good, and considered his informants very good sort of people. This was enough.

² One of the relics brought from Constantinople by Gregory, which

debasement and ridiculous trifles might be, as it was, a general failing in his days. But a man who falls into general failings, and humours them, bears no marks about him of any especial illumination from above. Those who unquestionably had such an illumination, because their title to it is established by Scripture, were never drawn in by the current of prevailing errors. They were, on the contrary, distinguished by unceasing opposition to the sinful weaknesses of their several times. Gregory had likewise taken very intolerant views of the Donatists, although their religious opinions were not only free from doctrinal error, but also, like his own, were ascetic and austere. Because they would not conform, however, to the dominant church, he exerted himself to bring them under secular oppression.¹ In such conduct, again, there is no appearance of any thing unusually enlarged or holy. Another conspicuous blot, upon Gregory's character is of a political nature. After showing himself very much of a courtier, he engaged in strong opposition to the emperor Maurice, because that prince forbade men to seek an escape from military service by turning monks. It is obvious that an abuse of this kind might require some decided check, and one clearly was not given because the emperor cared little for spiritual questions. Maurice, on the contrary, though accused of covetousness, was more than ordinarily moral and

passed for the arm of St. Andrew, remained at Rome, in Bower's time, and is probably there still. *Hist. of the Popes*, ii. 467.

¹ See his Epistles to Gennadius, exarch of Africa. Labb. et Coss. v. 1071, 1072.

religious. Gregory could, however, forget his good qualities, and even go so far as to salute with a flattery, to which religious language lends additional disgust, Phocas, who usurped his throne, and afterwards murdered him. Yet the character of this usurper appears to have been decidedly bad, and unless Gregory had been something of a time-server, it is most unlikely that he would have written to him as he did.¹ It is useless to talk of a man from whose memory these imputations cannot be wiped away, as any miracle of goodness and wisdom. He might be far above the ordinary run of men in both respects, as Gregory undoubtedly was, but there is not a shadow of reason for bringing him into a history on any other than the ordinary historical terms.

His character, as painted by himself, will fully show this. He could fret violently under mortifications really but little worthy of a great man's notice. John the Faster, patriarch of Constantinople, proud of living close to the emperor, and having his ear, proud of the fame earned by his own austerities, and substantially good qualities, was bent upon lowering the bishop of the ancient capital, now deserted by the court. He insisted, accordingly, under imperial authority upon styling himself *Œcumenical Bishop*. This obnoxious title had been assumed in the time of

¹ See the 38th, in the 11th book of his Epistles. (*Ib.* 1529.) Extracts from it have been often made by Protestant writers. John the Deacon accounts for it by saying, that Gregory either wished the new emperor to hear what sort of a person he ought to be, and therefore act more mildly than Maurice; or else, that, observing his devotion towards the church, he thought him unlikely to fall into tyranny. (*Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* i. 453.) Both excuses discover embarrassment.

Gregory's predecessor, Pelagius, who had remonstrated strongly against it. John was, however, unmoved, and when Gregory became pope, he found him continue the style that had already given so much offence at Rome. Gregory lost all patience, and even levelled at the Faster insinuations of hypocrisy, though speaking of him, with the sort of courtesy usual in such cases, as a *most holy personage*.¹ But by way of letting people know pretty plainly what he really thought of his holiness, he spoke of religious teachers, in such a way, certainly, as to include himself, *whose examples nullified what their tongues preached; whose works taught wickedness, and their voices only what was just; who fasted themselves down to skeletons, but were big enough within; who went about in wretched clothing, but had a haughtiness at heart that no purple could come up to; who lay grovelling in ashes, but for all that looked high enough; who lectured people on humility, but led them into pride; whose faces were a sheep's, but their teeth a wolf's*.² The Faster's cherished title was accordingly

¹ "Vir sanctissimus consacerdos meus Joannes." (Greg. Maur. Aug. Labb. et Coss. v. 1181.) In another letter to the emperor Maurice, Gregory says, *My often-mentioned most holy brother endeavours to persuade many things to my most serene lord.* *Ib.* 1189.

² "Quod per linguam prædicamus, per exemplum destruimus: qui iniqua docemus operibus, et sola voce ea quæ justa sunt prætendimus. Ossa jejuniis atteruntur, et mente turgemus. Corpus despectis vestibus tegitur, et elatione cordis purpuram superamus. Jacemus in cinere, et excelsa non despiciamus. Doctores humilium, duces superbiæ, ovina facie lupinos dentes abscondimus." (*Ib.* 1181.) That Gregory here, though writing as if he modestly thought such language quite as fit for himself as for any body else, really meant it for John, appears not only from the purport of his letter, but also from another letter which he wrote to the emperor. He there says, *I beg that you will allow no man's hypocrisy to prevail against the truth; because there are people,*

accounted for on the supposition that Antichrist must be close at hand¹, and pronounced contrary to the Gospel, contrary to the canons, a novelty, an usurpation, a presumption, a name of blasphemy, an injury to the whole priesthood, a senseless arrogance.² *It was needful*, the emperor was told, *to keep a man down who put an affront upon the holy universal church, who was puffed up at heart, who delighted in being styled like nobody else, who applied, in fact, a term to himself which placed his honour above that of the throne.*³ Nothing, Gregory declared, could be more humble than his own views. He was the servant of all priests, if they only lived like priests⁴, and from him, we are told, came the usage, still retained by popes, of styling themselves *Servants of the servants of God.*⁵ Now, it requires no great sagacity or un-

who, in the distinguished preacher's language (St. Paul's to the Romans, xvi. 18.), "by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple," who are despicable in dress, but puffed up at heart, and while seeming to despise all things in this world, are notwithstanding at the same time seeking to get all that the world can bestow; who profess to think all men more worthy than themselves, but cannot be contented to be called like other people, because they want something to make them look more worthy than any body else. Ib. 1184.

¹ "Sed in ejus superbia quid aliud nisi propinqua jam Antichristi esse tempora designamus?" Ib. 1189.

² "Quis est ille, qui, contra statuta evangelica, contra canonum decreta, novum sibi usurpare nomen præsumit? Absit a cordibus Christianorum nomen istud blasphemie, in quo omnium sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur." Ib.

³ "Ille coerendus est, qui sanctæ universali ecclesiæ injuriam facit, qui corde tumet, qui gaudere de nomine singularitatis appetit, qui honori quoque imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit." Ib.

⁴ "Ego enim cunctorum sacerdotum servus sum, in quantum ipsi sacerdotaliter vivunt."

⁵ See the passage in *the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 44., note. In that passage *Joanne* should stand for *Paulo*. There are two lives of Gregory the Great in the *Benedictine Acts*, the first by *Paul the Deacon*,

charitableness to consider a man who could voluntarily sit for such a picture of mortified vanity, as very much under the decenter impulses that sway men in general. His rival, the Faster, was in reality, the same sort of person as himself; and consequently enjoyed quite as great reputation at Constantinople, as he did at Rome. Zonaras, in mentioning that reviled ascetic's elevation to the patriarchate, calls him, *a most holy man*¹, and subsequently says, that after *adorning* that dignity more than thirteen years, *he departed to the eternal mansions*.² Yet Gregory's ancient biographer, John the Deacon, describes this patriarch as *the Constantinopolitan hypocrite*, and representing his unexpected death as a judgment, goes on to moralise upon the ease with which he was placed in a narrow grave, after displaying such a pride as the whole world could scarcely contain.³

This exposure is not one that a religious mind would choose to make. There is really much to respect in the memories of both John and Gregory.

the second by *John* the Deacon. The second is more recent, and the passage cited is in the first paragraph of the second book in it. The title of *Servant of the servants of God* appears, about Gregory's time, not to have been confined to himself, or other occupants of the Roman see. Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury, with his two coadjutors, Mellitus and Justus, in writing to the Irish bishops and abbots, about the year 634, style themselves *Servi servorum Dei*. Usser. *Vet. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge*. Dubl. 1632, p. 18.

¹ Ἰωάννης ὁ νηστευτής, ἀνὴρ ἱερώτατος. *Annal. Bas.* 1557. iii. 59.

² Πρὸς τὰς αἰδίους μετέστη μὲν ἀς κοσμήσας τὸν ἀρχιερατικὸν θρόνον ἐπὶ ἑτῇ τρισκαίδεκα καὶ ἐπέκεινα. *Ib.* 62.

³ "Ceterum Joannes Constantinopolitanus hypocrita, qui ab universalis nominis ambitione multis tergiversationibus recusabat, juxta ejusdem patris prophetiam judicia Domini super se vigilare cognoscens, post non multi temporis spatium subita morte defungitur, et cujus ambitionem superbiā totus capere mundus vix poterat, in unius sepulchri angustia facile collocatur." (*Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* i. 443.) John's sudden death took place in 596, the very year in which Gregory appears to have given his commission to Augustine.

Each of them had many very valuable qualities. Nor is it possible to overlook the evil of bringing forward facts so little creditable to persons once of great eminence in the religious world. Undoubtedly, those who would laugh or argue religion out of countenance, hail such pictures as weapons of the most serviceable kind. It is, however, an evil that must be risked when a full display of the truth seems likely to prove the humble instrument of accomplishing a much greater good. John and Gregory, then, were both sadly blemished by the greediness of vain-glory. It was an infirmity of the flesh, one of those things that lower us all, and it came over these two great, and on many accounts, good prelates, in the disguise of asserting a pre-eminence, due to their several sees, and beneficial to mankind. Thus, as usual, the vanity of individuals took shelter under an alleged regard for the public good. But general and pardonable as is this weakness, it must not be spared, when great principles are at stake. Such is the case when pains are taken to raise a saintly character for Gregory the Great. This undue exaltation of him is always connected with religious principles that have no sure footing in the Bible.

The facts are, that Gregory was aware of a strong disposition among the English to embrace Christianity, and of an unwillingness in the Frankish clergy to go over into the island as missionaries.¹ There were ob-

¹ The passages from his epistles proving the former fact may be seen in *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, 40., note. The latter fact is established by the following clause in Gregory's letter, "sed sacerdotes vestros e vicinio negligere, et desideria eorum cessare sua adhortatione succendere." Labb. et Coss. v. 1244.

vious reasons for a favourable feeling towards the gospel in England. It was professed by the most distinguished lady in the country, and something of a partiality for it at least must have lingered among the British population which was intermingled with the Saxons. There was, therefore, an opening for a mission; and Rome, as became the great western seat of religion and civilisation, had been in the habit of sending one, wherever a prospect of success showed itself.¹ But such habits generally require some stimulus to render them active, and none presents itself so naturally as those contemporaneous mortifications from Constantinople which galled Gregory so severely. That he actually sought, in despatching Augustine, some counterbalance to the successful pretensions of his eastern rival, is, however, scarcely a matter of mere inference. One of Gregory's own letters instructs Augustine to place under himself all the clergy of the island.² Now, it is not likely that

¹ This appears from the before-cited letter of Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus, to the bishops and abbots of Ireland, printed in Ussher's *Sylloge*. The joint writers thus begin, "Dum nos sedes apostolica, *more suo*, sicut in universo orbe terrarum, in his occiduis partibus ad prædicandum gentibus Paganis dirigeret." Thus these witnesses, who must have known the truth, refer Gregory's mission neither to any especial providence, nor picturesque incident, but solely to the *regular practice* of the Roman see.

² Gregory wrote to him, *Your brotherhood is to have under you, not only the bishops ordained by yourself, and those whom the bishop of York may ordain, but also all the priests of Britain.* (Bed. i. 29. ed. Stevenson, p. 78.) This monstrous assumption is defended upon the ground, that it could plead our Lord's authority, inasmuch as the Britons were to learn right belief and right practice from the metropolis thus thrust upon them, and by such instruction secure the salvation of their souls. This reason is instructive. Gregory, it will be seen, does not shelter his attempt to gain for his own nominee a paramount ecclesiastical authority over Britain, under any plea of vindicating St. Peter's authority, and asserting rights inherent in himself. He

Gregory meant Augustine to erect himself into a sort of patriarch, independent of Rome. He must have reckoned upon that degree of influence for the papal see which it actually enjoyed in the west and in Africa. This, undoubtedly, was far less than Rome ultimately obtained, and than papal advocates represent as hers in Gregory's time. But, if the scheme could be realised, a considerable counterpoise would have come from it to the annoyances at Constantinople. Augustine, it was meant, should have under him, not only the church, which he might succeed in founding, but he was also to seek means of establishing another metropolitan at York, and in his province he was likewise to enjoy a paramount authority. Nor was even this all. Gregory's nominee was to go beyond any Christian field won by his own exertions, and by those of missionaries under his direction. He was actually to claim, and obtain, if he could, an authority over the Christian church that had immemorially existed in the island. One of his proposals, accordingly, which the British clergy rejected, was, *that they would receive him for their archbishop*.¹ The instructions, therefore, given to him,

merely assumes, that all the Britons, whether Pagans or Christians, would be placed under such great spiritual obligations by Augustine, that he might justly claim a religious authority over them. The whole passage is this, "Tua vero fraternitas non solum eos episcopos, quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo, qui per Eburacæ episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Brittanniæ sacerdotes habeat, Deo Domino nostro Jesu Christo auctore, subjectos; quatenus ex lingua et vita tuæ sanctitatis et recte credendi et bene vivendi formam percipiant, atque officium suum fide ac moribus exsequentes ad cœlestia, cum Dominus voluerit, regna pertingant."

¹ "At illi nil horum se facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant. The *things* which the Britons refused to do

necessarily imply, either that he was to set up for himself in Britain the same sort of patriarchate that the pope held at Rome, or that he was to seek some similar kind of office which the papal see might have good prospect of influencing. The latter supposition must evidently be the true one, and it is worthy of remark, that, if Gregory had seen his projects take effect, he would have acquired a hold upon a church which was in actual opposition to the papal see. The

at Augustine's instances were three, namely, that they should celebrate Easter at *its proper time* ('suo tempore'), administer baptism according to the Roman fashion, and join the Italian missionaries in a mission to the Pagan Saxons. If they would do these things, Augustine told them, he would put up with other things which they did in a manner disapproved at Rome. These things appear to have been *many*. ("In multis quidem nostræ consuetudini, imo universalis ecclesiæ, contraria geritis.") These proposals were made at Augustine's second and final conference, to which the British clergy came after consultation among their own people. All the three things, however, they rejected, and at the same time refused to admit Augustine as their archbishop. Now, it is worthy of remark, that Augustine seems to have taken up, upon this occasion, much the same ground that Gregory's letter to him does, which authorises his assumption of the archiepiscopal dignity. There is no claim of authority put forth. Gregory founds his nominee's pretensions to a paramount ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole island, upon the important spiritual services that he was to render. The nominee himself recommends his reforms as called for by the practice of the universal church. *You do many things contrary to our custom, nay, rather, to that of the universal church.* Here again is not a word of St. Peter, and papal rights. The Britons, accordingly, rejected Augustine's proposals, because they considered them to come from a person who could not be actuated by a thoroughly Christian spirit, and hence could not be safely trusted with power. As they were going to the conference, an aged hermit advised them to give way, if the stranger were a man of God.

The circumstances that followed are detailed in *The Anglo Saxon Church*, p. 57., and clearly show that Augustine took up no such ground as an ordinary papal advocate would advance, and as the modern papal cause requires. The Britons finally refused his proposals, because, *If he would not rise, when we came to him just now, how much more offensively will he show that he thinks nothing of us, when once we have placed ourselves under his authority?* Bed. H. C. ii. 93. ed. Stevenson. 102.

British Christians wholly rejected the authority of Rome upon several points which would now seem to many serious minds of very little importance, but which Gregory and his contemporaries viewed in a widely different light. There was, indeed, then going on, as there has often been since, a violent struggle for unity, and this word meant, as it has commonly done, little else than uniform subjection. People could not rest contented without driving all the world besides into their ways, and under their authority. Now, if Gregory could accomplish these ends in the untrodden field of Britain, it is plain that he would secure a very satisfactory set-off against the pertinacious Easter's galling assumptions at Constantinople. He would not only have to exult in the conversion of a heathen race to Christianity, but also in the forcing of Roman usages upon a Christian body which had hitherto paid no attention to the papal see.

It is, undoubtedly, impossible to produce any direct evidence of these feelings in Gregory's mind. People seldom strip themselves quite stark naked in letters. Gregory's epistolary stripping went a good way; much farther, in fact, than has been found convenient by later partisans of Rome, but it did not go far enough to make him conclude his vituperations of the Easter in some such manner as this: — "I must seek in another direction that field for vindicating St. Peter's honour which sanctimonious patriarchs and partial emperors deny me in the East. Britain is the quarter to which I may look with a good prospect of success. I know that a disposition to embrace Christianity exists there even among the Saxon con-

querors; and I see no reason why, if the opening made through them be judiciously improved, the ancient British Christians, hitherto found so impracticable, should not be reduced into conformity with Rome." In the hurry of passion, and under the delusions of self-love, Gregory might, indeed, scarcely be aware of any such direction in his thoughts. A distinct perception of such infirmities is commonly reserved for those moments of deepest penitence, when men see and sorrowfully acknowledge that even some of the acts upon which they can reflect with solid satisfaction were, in a manner, extorted from their corrupt nature by the force of motives which man in a holier state would have never found within his breast.

Probably Romish zeal may feel inclined to give such supposition a contemptuous dismissal, as little or nothing better than the colouring of romance. Let it, however, be remembered, that probable inferences form an integral member of historical composition. Take them away, and annals only remain, which very few people would be found to read. All historical writers, accordingly, intersperse their narratives with inferences; and if these are only probable on the face of them, the reading world does not complain. Of course, therefore, it is no hard matter with any writer of history to justify his own conduct in drawing inferences by the example of those who have most shone in that walk of literature. One such example, and that rather of a striking kind, is to be found in the Romish history of England. In giving the miserable account of Henry the Eighth's fifth wife,

the unfortunate Catharine Howard, that celebrated work originally pronounced her to have perished under "a plot woven by the industry" of the Re-forming party, and to have been "a sacrifice to the manes of Anne Boleyn."¹ Upon the former of these statements a very amiable, right-minded man, whom we have just lost, Archdeacon Todd, said, that "a more audacious assertion, perhaps, was never made in any history of our country."² It certainly was drawing inferences with a high hand, inasmuch as no evidence whatever of any *plot* is producible. It might, indeed, have been reasonably inferred that the Reformers were angry at Anne Boleyn's untimely death, but to go on with an inference that such anger must have led them into a diabolical conspiracy against the life of another unhappy female, is rather an unusual stretch of the historian's privilege. In this case, accordingly, the learned writer has been driven to the abandonment of his original ground. The edition of his history lately printed imputes Catharine Howard's misfortunes to a *discovery* made by the reformers, during Henry's absence in the north; and a note admits that there "is no direct evidence of any plot."³ Readers of this amended version may be at a loss to understand this note exactly, but they cannot fail of collecting from it as the author's opinion, that this unfortunate

¹ The passage, with remarks upon it, may be seen in the author's *History of the Reformation*, ii. 489., note.

² *Life of Archbishop Cranmer*. Lond. 1831. i. 315. The facts are there fully and satisfactorily detailed, completely negating the Romish inferences drawn from the case.

³ Lingard's *History of England*, Lond. 1838. vi. 311., note.

lady really did perish on a scaffold by means of some vindictive management of the reforming party. As, however, this is merely a gratuitous inference of an eminent individual, those who agree with him in religious views may fairly be asked for some indulgence of the inference that has been drawn in Gregory the Great's case. It, undoubtedly, intimates what cannot be proved in express terms, but still nothing that is not rendered so probable, as to be almost certain, from authentic letters yet extant. It involves no feeling of hostility to the memory of Gregory the Great. He rendered important services to England by opening a way for Roman missionaries in Kent, with its neighbouring regions, and for native missionaries in other parts of the island. He has also been pressed with good effect by Bishop Morton, into the Protestant cause.¹ As he lived when papal divinity was only in its infancy, and was a very copious writer, he has left much upon record which may be advantageously cited against modern Romish opinions. He is not, indeed, a spiritual guide at all more trust-worthy than those of his age generally. His authorship began long after many extra-scriptural opinions had gained a firm hold upon the church, and he strengthened their hold. But he and his contemporaries knew little or nothing of numerous matters, not unimportant, which after times believed. Hence his writings are records of con-

¹ In his *Catholike Appeale for Protestants*, Lond. 1610. Gregory furnishes the first article in this work, and as it extends over more than sixty-six pages, it comprises many useful particulars of that pope's opinions.

siderable use ; and his whole history is instructive, because it shows that nothing short of a sounder spiritual state than Gregory ever attained, will effectually keep down the influence of human corruption, even over minds that have made great advances towards a heavenly tone.

CHAPTER II.

CONVERSIONS OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

Papal Claims to universal Spiritual Jurisdiction. — Probable Source of early British Christianity. — Glastonbury. — Want of Deference for the Papal See. — Opposition to the Roman Easter. — Conversion of the Saxons by native Missionaries. — Patrick. — Early Missions to Ireland. — Want of Papal Claims to a patriarchal Power over the British Isles. — Alleged Miracles in favour of the Papal Party. — Popular Credulity upon such Subjects. — The Whitby Conference. — Grounds taken up by the Papal Party.

THE authentic standard of papal belief requires those who embrace it to “acknowledge the Roman church as the mother and mistress of all churches!”¹ Within the memories of many yet alive, the British sovereign styled himself king of France, and probably the king of Sardinia still calls himself king of Cyprus and Jerusalem. In both cases, the title was, or is, merely the assertion of an hereditary claim. A similar sense, perhaps, must be given to the usage of papal Rome in styling herself the *Mistress of all Churches*. She would have people understand, that such are her pretensions. It is not, indeed, in her power to make out so good a case for them, as the royal parties named could, or can, for their pre-

¹ Profession of Faith according to the council of Trent, authorised by Pope Pius IV.

tensions to the thrones of France, Cyprus, or Jerusalem. Hereditary right is out of the question, and actual possession of this universal ecclesiastical power, at any time, cannot be substantiated by authentic history. Hence nothing else remains than to bound the religious monarchy claimed by papal Rome upon some grant divinely made to St. Peter, and transmitted by him to the popes. Upon this principle, although the Roman bishops neither have a power over the whole church, nor ever had, yet they *ought* to have one as a matter of right. Any such plea, however, is a plain begging of the question. Scholars without the Roman pale, who have looked into these matters quite as narrowly as any within it, have never been able to find any evidence worthy of serious attention for the ample privileges which papal Rome shelters under the name of St. Peter. Whatever, therefore, may be thought of England's long continued claim to the sovereignty of France, and of Sardinia's claim to the crowns of Cyprus and Jerusalem, these unsubstantial feathers really can plead something of a better title than Rome can make out for styling herself the *mistress of all churches*.

How she can be the *mother of all churches*, except she means the stepmother, or merely that she is entitled to the primacy among them, is very far from evident. Jerusalem, unquestionably, is the original mother of all churches. But Rome may fairly call herself the mother of *some* churches. She was the immense, enlightened, wealthy capital of the ancient world. Among her population, a Christian body arose very early ; and even in St. Paul's time it com-

prised persons belonging to the imperial household.¹ Genuine Christianity is, in fact, a religion eminently calculated for taking hold upon that well-informed, independent, virtuous middle class, which suffers less from temptation and delusion than either the class above it, or that below it, and which is peculiarly the growth of large, busy towns. The prevailing disposition of this class in ancient Rome towards the Christian faith is shown by the opulence which their bishop of that city early attained², and by that operation upon the government which made it abandon Paganism so soon as the reign of Constantine. Now it is quite impossible that such a Christian body as was domiciled in the capital under the Cæsars should have been indifferent to missionary enterprise. Rome, therefore, must have been literally the *mother* of many churches. Her sphere of usefulness, however, in this way, chiefly lay in Italy, and in regions to the westward. The east was pre-occupied by the apostles and their immediate disciples. But Rome could advantageously step in upon many western spots connected with her by propinquity, or habitual intercourse.

These reasons did not apply to Britain. Not only was that island remote from Rome, but also the Romans were not its earliest connecting links with

¹ "All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Cæsar's household." Phil. iv. 22.

² "The story is known of Prætextatus, a zealous Gentile, designed to be consul, who reflecting upon the plenty of that see (the Roman) was wont pleasantly to tell Pope Damasus, *make me but bishop of Rome, and I will immediately become a Christian.*" Cave's *Dissertation concerning the Government of the ancient Church*. Lond. 1683, p. 25.

civilised society. Phœnician merchants, visiting it for the purchase of tin, were the first individuals who raised a spirit of enquiry as to our islands in the better informed classes of antiquity.¹ In the course of time, a colony from Asia Minor founded the important commercial city of Marseilles, and this kept up the old eastern trading relations with Britain. The Massilian merchants, however, opened an overland communication with our island. They travelled across Gaul, and passing over to the Isle of Wight, obtained there tin, lead, skins, and other commodities, which they transported by means of pack-horses to Marseilles.² They used, probably, this conveyance as far as the ancient city of Chalon on the Saone, and thence descended that river and the Rhone to their own home. The whole journey appears to have occupied about thirty days. Thus the connecting link

¹ The Phœnicians are supposed to have visited the western extremity of Britain more than a thousand years before our Saviour's birth. They first touched at Cadiz, and appear to have coasted Spain and Portugal as long as they could; thence they steered for the Scilly Islands and Cornwall. Being desirous, however, of monopolising the trade, they made a great secret of the place whence their commodities were brought. Hence Herodotus (b. iii. c. 15.) professes his inability to say more of the Cassiterides (Tin islands, from *cassiteros*, Gr.; *tin*) than that they were situated in the extreme west.

² "The tin, formed into square blocks, was brought to the Isle of Wight, where it was purchased by merchants, and carried over to Gaul, and then, in a journey of about thirty days, conveyed on horses to Marseilles, Narbonne, and the mouths of the Rhone." (*Laffenberg's History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*. (Lond. 1845, i. 5.) Tin, we learn from Strabo, *was brought from the British isles to Marseilles* (*Geogr. Lut. Par.* 147.), and was bartered, as well as lead, for pottery, peltry, salt, and brazen manufactures. (*Ib.* 175.) In another place he mentions corn, cattle, gold, silver, and iron, among the products of Britain, and says that these commodities were exported from it in his day, in addition to skins, slaves, and dogs admirably formed for the chase. (*Ib.* 199.)

of Britain with a higher civilisation than her own continued to be of Asiatic origin. While the Romans knew very little of her, and that little scarcely extended beyond Kent, traders of Asiatic origin and connections had been immemorially connected with her population from the Isle of Wight to the Scilly Islands, and had been respected by it, because their business was not aggressive, but commercial. They sought not plunder and vassals, but customers for foreign luxuries, for which they gladly took native superfluities in exchange.

Answerable to these facts are the first glimmerings of British Christianity. A great deal was eventually heard about its connection with Rome, but appearances are altogether against any very remote mission from that quarter. The earliest Christian establishment was not fixed in Kent, or somewhere thereabouts, where a papal advocate would wish to find it, because there was the regular channel of Roman connection with Britain. On the contrary, Glastonbury is the spot on which Christian clergymen first found a British home.¹ This would make an excellent sort

¹ *The Church of Glastonbury is the oldest, so far as I know, in England.* (Malmesb. De Antiq. Glaston. Eccl. xv. *Scriptores*, 299.) Malmesbury then goes on to state that this church was crowded with remains of holy persons, and hence was justly called a *heavenly sanctuary upon earth*. One of its designations, accordingly, was *saints' grave* (tumulus sanctorum). Many ancient princely personages were also buried there, and among them the renowned British king Arthur. It was, indeed, esteemed not only an honour, but also a security, to be entombed at Glastonbury, there being very little chance of infernal torments to those whose bodies lay in a spot tenanted by so many saintly frames. This is expressed in the following line, which concludes a poetical panegyric upon Glastonbury, cited by an annotator upon Peter of Blois.

Vix licet inferni pœnas hîc qui tumulatur.

of half-way house between the Hampshire coast and Cornwall, and nothing is more likely than that missionaries who came with a mercantile train from Marseilles to that coast should have gladly taken root there. The traditions at Glastonbury too were all of an oriental character. It was nobody from Rome, that people there named as having first preached in Britain; it was Joseph of Arimathea, or some others of the very earliest Christians. It is observable, besides, that a party of our Lord's most intimate connections having been cruelly put to sea by Jewish malice, without oars or sails, was reported to have come miraculously to Marseilles, and thence to have set out upon missionary enterprises.¹ Thus

(Pet. Bles. *Opp. Par.* 1667, p. 679.) All these things point to impressions in favour of Glastonbury, quite easy to understand if it were the cradle of British Christianity, but otherwise unaccountable. This view had not come into the writer's mind when the *Anglo-Saxon Church* was in hand. It was first suggested to him by Mr. Thorpe's recent publication of Mr. Laffenberg's valuable work. He had before followed Abp. Ussher and Bp. Stillingfleet in thinking the Glastonbury traditions to have chiefly come from the monks after the conquest. But it now seems to him, in spite of the silence of more ancient writers, that the monks of Malmesbury's time really did repeat traditions immemorially current on the spot. The extraordinary sanctity attributed to Glastonbury, and the differences that eventually became so famous between the ancient British Christians and the Church of Rome, seem to admit scarcely of any other solution than that Glastonbury was the earliest headquarters of the British mission, and that the first missionaries were Asiatics unconnected with Rome.

¹ In the *Acts of Mary Magdalen and her Companions* it is said, that after the dispersion on St. Stephen's death, Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, Martha, and Marcella, an attendant, being exceedingly obnoxious to the Jews, together with Maximin, a disciple, were put to sea in a vessel without oars; but instead of perishing, as their enemies intended, Providence landed them safely at Marseilles. Baronius adds, from a Vatican MS., that Joseph of Arimathea was with them, and that passing from Gaul into Britain, he preached and died there. Another account says, that this party was put to sea without oars, sails, or steersman. It may be seen, from an extract in the *Anglo-Saxon Church* (23. note), that

the dim light of British tradition pointed intelligibly enough to the east and Marseilles, or perhaps to the great oriental church of Lyons, as the origin of British Christianity. The parties named as its first preachers might none of them have been concerned in the work. Their pretensions to that honour have been repeatedly examined, and found incapable of standing a sufficient examination. The real truth may be, that the earliest missionaries to Britain spoke of Joseph, or others who had been in actual communication with our Saviour, either from their own knowledge, or from that of persons with whom they had conversed. But this is immaterial. The only things needful to observe are the unlikeliness of Glastonbury as the first Christian establishment, upon the Roman hypothesis, and the oriental character traditionally given to the first mission.

The Glastonbury traditions, however, though of more value, probably, than Protestants have ordinarily thought them, will after all do no more than lend plausibility to an hypothesis. But no such

St. Philip was placed at the head of this Gallic mission, and was said to have despatched Joseph of Arimathea into Britain. Lazarus is reported to have become bishop of Marseilles, and Maximin of Aix. Farther to confirm the antiquity of Glastonbury, Malmesbury tells a story of a monk from that house who heard from an aged member of his order, in the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris, that Glastonbury and that abbey were of the same, and of the most venerable, antiquity. This is not unlikely upon the supposition that some truth lurked under the foregoing traditions. Strabo says, that the ordinary ways of reaching Britain from the continent were from the mouths of the Garonne, the Loire, the Seine, and the Rhine. People from Marseilles, therefore, probably went by water to Challon, thence by land to Paris, or thereabouts, and thence down the Seine to cross over into Hampshire. The same missionaries, therefore, might have really given occasion both to the foundation at St. Denis and to that at Glastonbury. Usser. *Brit. Eccl. Antiq* 8. xv. *Script.* 295. Strab. 199.

equivocal character applies to the Christianity found in Britain by Augustine and his companions. This displayed a front of decided and uncompromising opposition to Rome. In mere doctrine, the two churches do not appear to have been divided. But as to the time of celebrating Easter, which was considered a very important matter, and as to many other things, the British and Roman Christians were utterly at variance with each other. This again points to different origins. Nor is the presumption of such difference weakened by various accounts intended for weakening it. Deruvian and Phagan, we are told, were sent over into Britain, by Pope Eleutherius, in consequence of the famous application made by King Lucius. They proved very successful missionaries, and in the course of their travels came to Glastonbury, where they found a church built more than a century before, and, as they became convinced, by our Lord's own disciples. Glastonbury was made, in consequence, their head-quarters during a space of nine years.¹ Whatever may be the truth of this relation, it is clear that the British church must have been no stranger to that of the capital of the empire, during the time that the Romans occupied Britain. The connection could scarcely even have been quite inoperative.² But whatever were its

¹ Malsb. *Antiqu. Glast. Eccl.* xv. *Script.* 294.

² "Nothing can be less probable in itself, nor less supported by ancient testimony, than the opinion that Britain was converted by oriental missionaries. The only foundation on which it rests is, that in the seventh century the Britons did not keep Easter on the same day as the Church of Rome. That, however, they did so in the beginning of the fourth century is plain from Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iii. 19.) Socrates

operation, the effect appears to have been merely temporary. The insular Christians were eventually found without any trace of their former intercourse with Rome. A circumstance like this could scarcely have flowed from any thing else than from some very deeply-rooted feeling. Surely Deruvian and Phagan, with other divines from Rome, would have infused into the native Christians a more accommodating temper towards the divines of the mighty seat of empire, unless very strong prejudices had intervened. But suppose British Christianity to have claimed a foundation quite independent of Rome, and quite as ancient as the Roman, like the Roman too, of apostolic origin; then, we can easily understand, why

(*Hist.* v. 22.), and the Council of Arles." (Lingard. *Hist. Engl.* i. 45. note.) The probability of Britain's oriental conversion is a matter of opinion, and the Easter question has commonly seemed to Protestants decisive in its favour. The Glastonbury traditions have not hitherto received much attention, but they appear to confirm not unimportantly the oriental hypothesis. Eusebius and Socrates are the same authority as to this matter, the latter merely giving a citation of Constantine's letter from the former. Spelman, who is cited for the Council of Arles, merely gives, as to the matter in hand, the first canon of that council (p. 40.), and the signatures of three British bishops (p. 42.) The canon enacts the uniform observance of Easter, and the bishops are those of York, London, and Colchester, exactly the places where we should look for congregations of native Romans. That such congregations would readily follow the example of their own mighty capital, there can be no doubt. Such conformity would commonly be thought quite enough to justify an official communication like Constantine's, which states that the Roman Easter was kept *in the city of the Romans and likewise Africa, and all Italy, Egypt, Spain, the Gauls, the Britains, the Lybias, all Greece, the Asian diocese too, and the Pontic, and the Cilician.* (*De Vit. Const.* Amst. 1695, p. 407.) Now it is observable, that Britain is not spoken of like Italy and Greece. We do not read *all* in connection with it. The conformity, therefore, of Britain, though extending from York to London, might, probably, be confined to congregations and individuals connected more or less directly with the capital of the empire. If this conformity had been general, the opposition encountered by Augustine and his immediate successors could scarcely have happened.

divines from the capital should have found the insular Christians immoveably fixed in their immemorial usages. Now we know them not only to have been so fixed, but also to have pleaded antiquity and an apostolic origin as grounds that forbade them to give way. These facts have reasonably appeared all but absolutely conclusive among Protestants as to the conversion of Britain directly from the East¹; and really they are confirmed by Romish traditions of emissaries in ancient Britain from the principal bishop

¹ "The peculiarities of the latter church in Britain are an argument against its deriving its origin from Rome; for that church departed from the Romish in many ritual points; it agreed far more with the churches of Asia Minor; and it withstood for a long time the authority of the Romish church. This appears to prove that the British received, either immediately, or by means of Gaul, their Christianity from Asia Minor; which may easily have taken place through their commercial intercourse." (Rose's *Neander*, Lond. 1831, i. 80.) "The agreement of the British with the eastern churches respecting the celebration of Easter shows a conformity most satisfactorily, perhaps, to be accounted for by the supposition of an historic basis for the several legends respecting the preaching of the doctrines of Christ by oriental apostles. It is even probable that the first tidings of the new faith did not come from Rome, where it was still under oppression, but rather from one of the congregations of Asia Minor, which the Mediterranean had long held in connection with Gaul, and from whence, by the great public roads, the spirit of conversion easily found its way to Britain." (Lapenberg. i. 48.) It appears that tradition made a Christian church to have been erected by the merchants of Paris, on the ruins of an ancient temple, upon the spot now filled by *Nôtre Dame*, in the reign of Tiberius. This church is said to have been dedicated to St. Denis, whose martyrdom is placed upon *Mont Martre*. The reign of Tiberius has been also assigned to the first English mission. The improbability of such an early date in either case need not be here discussed; but the coincidence of tradition is worth notice; and it really may be true that Christian preachers, who landed at Marseilles from the East, succeeded in forming something like missionary head-quarters both at Paris and Glastonbury, even at a time when such an establishment, though practicable in obscure spots at an immense distance from the seat of empire, could not be formed at Rome itself, within a stone's throw almost of the imperial palace. Glastonbury, besides, was not under the Roman power until long after the time indicated.

in the empire. If such persons had not found British prepossessions hopelessly turned another way, they could scarcely have failed of leaving impressions behind, upon which Augustine might have worked without any great difficulty.

He encountered, however, the most resolute opposition. Nor does this appear to have rested on his assumption of superiority. That, no doubt, rendered him additionally obnoxious. But the British Christians declined an alteration in their customs, because these were ancient¹, and supported, as they alleged, by St. John's authority.² For the Roman Easter was pleaded a sanction from St. Peter. But neither party, Socrates says, could produce any thing written. Hence he concludes that nothing had been done in the matter by any apostle, and that Christians, therefore, conscientiously enough might follow their own customs in the case.³ The reason why a different

¹ At the conference of Augustine's Oak, the British clergy said, *that they could not give up their ancient customs without the consent and licence of their people.* Bede, *H. C.* ii. 91. p. 100.

² See *the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 72.

³ *The Quartodecimans say that the keeping of the fourteenth day was handed down to them from the apostle John ; but the people in Rome and the western parts say that the apostles Paul and Peter delivered their usage to them. Neither party, however, is able to bring forward a writing to settle the question.* (Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* v. 22. p. 234.) Thus the historian seems to consider this Easter question a distinction between the eastern and the western churches. Why did Britain side with the eastern church? He also names St. Paul concurrently with St. Peter as an authority for the western usage, and before St. Peter ; a very unpapal proceeding. He appears, too, very moderately impressed with the importance of unwritten tradition, and reasons from several variations in usage among churches, which he specifies, that there is no harm in regulating such things according to circumstances. As for the Apostles, he says, *their object was not to lay down laws about feast days, but to lead people into right living and piety.* Hence he supposes that so many things, and Easter among them, are regulated by different cus-

opinion prevailed so widely, and was advocated so hotly, was not merely the lust of giving law to provincials, which is natural to those who look down upon them from a metropolis, but also a notion, that the system of Asia Minor, being regulated by the Jewish Passover, was a concession to an odious and infatuated race, which had no claim to the smallest countenance from Christians.¹ But, as usual, party and prepossession did not easily give way to argument. Some men, however, cannot wait, or make allowances. Victor, bishop of Rome, accordingly, sent a message to the Christians of Asia Minor that he would no longer hold communion with them unless they kept Easter as he did. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was scandalised, and rebuked him severely.² The church of Lyons was notoriously of the most venerable antiquity, and the Christians, probably, all along the Rhone and Saone respected Asia Minor as their spiritual mother. Hence Irenæus could not

toms, because no one of the Apostles laid down a law in any quarter about the matter. p. 232.

¹ *Let us have, therefore, nothing in common with the most hateful crowd of Jews.* (Euseb. *De Vit. Const.* iii. 18. p. 406.) This is from Constantine's letter, or manifesto, before cited; and it also appears from this that the Jews jeered their Christian neighbours as unable to keep their own Easter without borrowing the time from them. Constantine, accordingly, chiefly argues from the Jews in this communication; then he urges the impropriety of keeping Easter in one place, but Lent in another; and then he passes off to the majority. How came he to overlook the pope? Surely a reference to papal authority would have been shorter and more effectual than arguments mostly drawn from the Jews, and reinforced by adverting to the propriety of feasting and fasting at uniform times approved by the majority.

² Or *spiritedly*: γενναίως κατέδραμεν (Socrates, 233.). The historian says, that until this act of Victor's, one church did not separate from another upon the Easter question. He speaks of Victor as *immoderately hot* in the matter. 'Ο τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος Βίκτωρ ἀμετρά θερμανθεῖς.

endure the domineering indiscretion which threatened a breach between his own Christian neighbours and their brethren in the capital. But southern Gaul was too near Rome for any very obstinate resistance. With Britain it was very different, especially after the Romans left it. Among the British Christians, accordingly, the Roman Easter had not gained a step when Augustine set his foot in Kent.

It was the same with other Christian inhabitants of the British isles. What outward connection there might be between the different native Christian bodies, or whether there was any, cannot, probably, be ascertained. The British and the Irish churches might not be connected as the established churches of England and Ireland now are. In fact, they hardly could be, because they were not under the same government. But they might be connected as are the Church of England and the episcopal Protestant church of North America; as also are the churches of Italy and Spain. Nor, if they were so connected, would any hesitation ordinarily be felt in speaking of them as of one religious body. An exception is, however, taken to such language. It is thought likely to make readers consider the Christians of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland as nothing else than members of a single corporation. Romanists would not leave the smallest opening for any such impression. But one such, it seems, may be given by inaccurate language in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*. The words were used solely to disabuse the public mind from an exaggerated estimate of the benefits conferred upon England by the Roman mission. Their

intention was to let people know that the country was chiefly converted by native missionaries. The narrative shows these individuals to have come from Scotland. But it is represented as faulty, because the missionaries, it seems, were members of the church of Ireland, and not of any church strictly British. Their head-quarters, unquestionably, were in Iona, which is neither upon the main land of Ireland, nor upon that of Scotland. Perhaps, therefore, it may not be very unreasonable to call it a British island, and to speak of the Christians in it as members of a British church. But it does not suit Romish views to speak of England as extensively converted by any native church. Language, therefore, gives offence which states, that the whole country from London to Edinburgh was converted by such a church. Inaccuracy seems particularly to be charged upon the word *the*. Only the Welsh church ought to be called, it seems, *the* ancient church of Britain. Any other native Christian body must be designated an ancient church of the island. Be it so. This nicety is of no great importance. Protestants merely wish to have it generally known that native missionaries, and not Roman ones, converted most of our Saxon forefathers to Christianity. No denial can be attempted of this fact: all that can be done is to deny that these missionaries were of Welsh origin. No author has ever said a word that makes them so.¹

¹ “ Mr. Soames, throughout his narrative of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, appears to have taken it for granted, that the Scots were the descendants of the ancient Britons, and their bishops the successors of the ancient British bishops. Aidan and his successors were, he tells

By making the native preachers of Irish origin is discerned an opening for connecting them with Rome, and hence readers may escape all suspicion that Augustine's Italian mission did most service by paving the way for an anti-papal party to set on foot a much more successful indigenous mission. Any such in-

us, *prelates of British origin*, and brought with them a *religious system of native growth*; that *Diuma and his three successors, under whom all the midland counties were converted, were also members of the national church*; and that, with the exception of Norfolk and Suffolk, *every county, from London to Edinburgh, has the full gratification of pointing to the ancient church of Britain as its nursing mother in Christ's holy faith*. Now the fact is, that these prelates, of supposed British origin, were bishops of Irish origin; and that *their religious system* was not of *native growth*, but the same which St. Patrick had taken with him to Ireland from Rome; and that the national church, of which Diuma and his successors were members, was the church of Ireland, and that not a single county *from London to Edinburgh can point to the ancient church as its nursing mother in the faith of Christ*, because the British church of that age on the western coast refused, through national animosity, to communicate the doctrines of the Gospel to the Saxons, and continued so late as a century after the arrival of Aidan to look upon the Saxon Christians, even on those who had been converted by the Scottish missionaries, as no better than Pagans, and treated them on all occasions as aliens from Christianity. *Quitppe, says Beda, cum usque hodie moris sit Britonum fidem religionamque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quam cum paganis.*" (Lingard, i. 43. note.) To the citations made from *the Anglo-Saxon Church* should have been added the facts, also stated there, that East Anglia, Wessex, and Sussex, though for the most part Roman conversions, were aided, perhaps not unimportantly, in passing from paganism to Christianity, by native help. Those who took the lead in giving this help are stated to have been *Scots* (p. 68.); a term that will apply to the people of Ireland in that age, and certainly cannot be misapplied to individuals from Iona. No hint is given that any of these individuals were supplied by *the British church on the western coast*. But that church might agree with them, as it undoubtedly did, while they were evangelising England. The reason of its disagreement afterwards is very easy to see. The Roman party prevailed in the course of a few years over the native one among the Anglo-Saxons. Hence the Christians in Wales and Cornwall, who remained steadfast to their ancient traditions, naturally regarded those who had forsaken them as renegades. To mix up, therefore, the feelings of one century with those of another when matters had wholly changed, is obviously fallacious.

sular mission, we are given to understand, must have borne in reality very much of a Romish character. It was conducted, we are told, by parties not only of Irish origin, but also, in consequence, by such as professed a religion that St. Patrick took from Rome to Ireland. This information is not fortified with any reference, and hence ordinary readers must fall back upon their old authorities. These will throw considerable doubts upon the question of Patrick's journey to Rome. Archbishop Ussher, it is true, felt none of this hesitation, and certainly, Ireland's great apostle might have gone to Rome without bringing away any new opinions. Protestants now go to the pontifical city, and come home again with Protestantism unimpaired. Probably, however, in Patrick's time, there was no great difference of belief among Christians generally. But adherents of the Roman church have been, during many ages, so very anxious to make every successful religious movement come directly from the papacy, that Patrick's visit to Rome, and mission from the pope, are assumed as absolute certainties by all Romish authors who treat upon his history. When they come, however, to details, difficulties and discrepancies arise immediately. Hence it has even been maintained, that Patrick's existence is nothing better than a monkish fiction.¹ This is going too far; but really the Irish

¹ Struck with various anachronisms, contradictions, and other difficulties in current accounts, Dr. Ledwich "boldly denied the existence of St. Patrick." (*Case of the Church of Ireland*, by Declan. Dubl. 1824, p. 62.) The late Mr. Phelan is regarded as the author of this very able pamphlet.

apostle's journey to Rome is not among the things that unprejudiced enquirers will readily receive as unquestionable. A very ancient authority was once thought to make him cross the *Alps*, but *Albion* is now known to be true reading. Again, the same piece was formerly translated so as to make him go to the south of *Latium*. But *Letha* is the original word, and this means *Armorica*, or *Britany*. From this region he went to live with Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, under whom *he studied the canons*, and from that celebrated prelate he proceeded to the *isles of the Tuscan sea*, and made some stay there.¹ He probably repaired to the religious establishment of Lerins, then in very high repute.² From this point he might, undoubtedly, have easily taken ship for Rome, and such

¹ The following is Declan's version of two stanzas in the very ancient hymn of Fiech, which relate these particulars in Patrick's life. (*Case of the Church of Ireland*, 72.)

" He traversed the whole of Albion ;
 He crossed the sea—it was a happy voyage.
 He took up his abode with German,
 Far away to the south of Armorica.
 Among the isles of the Tuscan sea,
 There he abode, as I pronounce ;
 He studied the canons with German ;
 Thus it is that the churches testify."

² The monastery of Lerins was founded about the year 410, by Honoratus, who has given name to the isle on which it was built. This, and a larger isle, called St. Margaret's, are opposite Cannes. Patrick is expressly said to have resided in the isle of *Aralanensis* by an ancient authority. This isle can scarcely be any other than Lerins. To be sure, this authority makes him to have spent thirty years there, which is absurd. But the spot itself is, probably, indicated correctly enough. Lupus, bishop of Troyes, the coadjutor of Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, in the British mission against Pelagianism, had been among the residents at Lerins. As Germanus was Patrick's friend and instructor, nothing is more likely than that conversation with Lupus should have made him think of Lerins as a place for the young Briton's improvement. Ussher, *Brit. Ech. Antiqua*. 435. Newman's *Fleury*, iii. 30.

a voyage would be to most young men a considerable temptation, but it is not established by sufficient evidence that Patrick ever undertook it. Germanus was, in fact, his great friend; he it was who took him over into Gaul, and sent him back properly ordained as a missionary into the British isles.¹ That Patrick should have been sent by this kind patron to finish his religious education at a famous establishment of learned ascetics, just off the coast of Gaul, is likely enough; but it is far from following that a considerable voyage hence across the Mediterranean, or a long overland journey through Italy, was ever contemplated by either master or pupil. Nor does it seem likely, that if this additional peregrination had really been accomplished, and have left no known traces on Patrick's Irish mission, it should be found unnoticed exactly where it should naturally be recorded.² But

¹ When Germanus was meditating a return into his native country, he formed an intimate acquaintance with Patrick, whom he sent after some years to the Irish as a preacher, at the bidding of Pope Celestine. (Malmesb. xv. *Script.* 300.) It is not said that Germanus found Patrick at Glastonbury, but the Irish apostle's eventual fondness for that place renders it probable that he did. Malmesbury, indeed, founds that fondness upon his visit to it after his Irish labours were over. It must, however, seem likely that such a visit was made, because earlier prepossessions suggested it. Patrick seems to have received episcopal consecration from some prelate in Gaul. His original intention, we are told, was to receive it from the pope, but in his way to Rome he was tempted by the great sanctity of another bishop to receive it of him. Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* 437.

² To the SCOTS BELIEVING IN CHRIST *Palladius*, being ordained by Pope Celestine, is sent as the first (or chief) bishop, in the eighth year of Theodosius (primus episcopus mittitur). This passage is found in the *Chronicon* of Prosper, whence it is extracted word for word by Bede, in his *Chronicon* (*Opp. Min.* 187). In his *Eccl. Hist.* (i. 13.) he so far varies it as to call Celestine *pontiff of the Roman Church*, and to say nothing of Palladius's ordination by him. Now it is observable that "Prosper was the friend, the counsellor, and the panegyrist of Pope

certainly in this case is quite unattainable Not so the religious feelings prevalent in Ireland, long after

Celestine. By his advice, Celestine, in the year 431, sent a Roman bishop, named Palladius, to some societies of Christians that had settled in Ireland. The mission totally failed; after remaining a few months, or, as some say, only three weeks, in the country, Palladius was obliged to retire, and died in Scotland in the January following. It is unanimously asserted by our Roman Catholic writers, that, upon hearing of the death of Palladius, Celestine issued a new commission to Patrick, and died in the April of the same year (432). Now Prosper published his Chronicle many years after. He was disposed to do full justice to the spiritual achievements of the deceased pontiff; yet he does not mention Patrick. Palladius came to Ireland, staid a few weeks, built three chapels, and ran away; but because Palladius was sent by Celestine, Prosper has commemorated the brief and ignoble effort. On the other hand, when Prosper published the last edition of his Chronicle, Patrick had been twenty-three years in Ireland, and his ministry had been blessed with the most signal success. What could have been the reason that he was omitted by Prosper? " (Declan's *Case of the Church of Ireland*, 64.) What, again, could be the reasons for the same omission by Bede? Prosper lived in Aquitaine, but Bede lived, and long afterwards, in the north of England. He therefore, at least, was in the way for hearing about Patrick; and from his affection for the Roman party, he was not likely to omit any thing decisive in its favour that had come to his knowledge from Ireland. Yet he never mentions Patrick. To account for these embarrassing omissions, Romish writers offer three hypotheses: one, Patrick is alluded to by Prosper; another, that Patrick was second in command, if we may so speak, to Palladius, and succeeded as a matter of course on his principal's death; the third, that *primus*, applied to Palladius, does not mean that he was to be the *chief* bishop of Ireland, or that there had never been any bishops in the country before him, but that he took a *second* bishop with him, and that the second was Patrick. Of these inferences it must be perfectly plain to any person who reads the passages to support them in Declan, that no one of them would ever have been thought of had not a previous difficulty called for something of the kind. But however ingenious they may be, they are merely hypothetical. They give, therefore, a fair opening for another hypothesis. Let then the liberty be taken of suggesting, that Palladius failed so signally, because he came, as Augustine afterwards did in England, with a view to extend the influence of Rome, to become by her dictation *chief* bishop, and to bring all the native Christians into her usages; and that Patrick succeeded, because he came without any Roman views, instructions, or commission whatever, and contentedly suffered any partialities of his own that might look that way, to remain inoperative, if he could only win the people extensively to Christianity. This hypothesis will account for the non-appearance of Patrick's name in Prosper and Bede, for the prejudices of ancient Ireland against Roman usages, and for the

Patrick's death. People there were just as hot against conformity to Rome as any body could be in Britain. There was, indeed, we are told, no difference between the two parties; and so bigoted were the Irish to their own views, that any one who kept the Roman Easter was pronounced unworthy to sit at table with them¹, or be under the same roof that sheltered them while eating. If Patrick, therefore, brought religious principles from Rome, they must either have differed from those which afterwards prevailed in Ireland, or he must have thought them of no great importance, or he must have acquired a much less hold upon that country than either traditions or known facts will allow us to give him. Be these matters, however, as they may, it is quite certain that, in Augustine's time, Britain and Ireland were agreed upon religious questions. Whatever, therefore, may have been the state of external relations between the two churches, it is quite certain that their clergy may be described as one body, with as much accuracy as the whole Anglican clergy, be they where they may, or the whole Romish clergy, be they where they may, may be described as one body.

Now it is worthy of remark, that Patrick really

lateness with which the papal authority found a footing in that country. View Patrick as no *Romish* missionary, and the facts are intelligible enough. Insist upon giving him that character, and difficulties arise at every turn.

¹ *We have learnt by Dagan, an (Irish) bishop coming into this island, which we have mentioned above (Britain), and the Abbot Columban in the Gauls, that the Scots (Irish) differ nothing from the Britons in their conversation. For Bishop Dagan coming to us, would not only take no food with us, but not even in the same house in which we were eating.* Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, to the Scots inhabiting Ireland. Ussher, *Sylloge*, 19.

does appear to have brought home a different mode of computing Easter from that which prevailed in the British isles.¹ At all events, there is reason to believe that he used a different computation, whether it was imported by him from the continent or not. Yet here he was disregarded by his attached spiritual children in Ireland. Hence there appears reason for suspecting that he considered this Easter question as a matter of no great importance. He might have taken that oriental view of the dispute which Socrates so sensibly unfolds, and which proceeds upon the ground, that proof of apostolical authority, in this and some other points of discipline, being not in existence, Christians might allowably act in such cases according to their several habits and prejudices.² But this view did not prevail at Rome. More than two centuries before Patrick could have gone thither, Pope Victor, with a hasty intemperance generally condemned, had thundered out his denunciations against Asia Minor, because that country would not conform to his unbending notions of canonical regularity. May we not hence reasonably infer that Patrick never was at Rome? If he were,

¹ *I have found cycles contrary to that which you hold ; first, that which St. Patrick, our pope (a general name for bishops), brought and makes, in which it is kept by the moon from the 14th to the 21st regularly, and the equinox from the 12th before the calends of April. Cumman, an Irishman, to Segienus, abbot of Hy, or Iona. Ussher, Sylloge, 32.*

² Socrates (v. 22.) enumerates a great many varieties in discipline and rites among Christians, and disposes of them by reference to the decision recorded in the Acts of Apostles (xv. 28, 29.), which merely binds believers to a few necessary things. Hence he condemns a great stress upon externals as an *oppressive slavery*, and keen arguments upon them as a *vain contention* ; the real objects of apostolic teaching, he says, are a *right conversation and true piety*. Ed. Vales. 236.

events might make him to have come away with no very deep conviction that all Christians must do exactly as the Roman bishop bade. But why, as he really seems to have disagreed with the later Irish upon the Easter question, did he not infuse his own views into them? The answer must be conjectural. Still, conjecture here is not without facts to guide it. The truth is, then, that a few Christian congregations, regularly organised under bishops, had existed in the south of Ireland from some very remote period; and that Palladius, once a deacon in the church of Rome, was despatched into the island by Pope Celestine, upon a mission to them, which all but wholly failed.¹ Patrick's mission soon followed, and it completely succeeded. The failure of Palladius is attributed to the hostility of a chieftain, and in this representation there is probably some truth. But the Roman missionary might also have to thank his own uncompromising opposition to the prejudices of those Christian communities who are mentioned as the sole object of his visit, and whose co-operation undoubtedly was necessary for the success of any endeavours to christianise their pagan neighbours. It may now be asked, Whence came these Christian communities? Conjecture must again suggest an answer. They

¹ Palladius is said to have founded three churches in Ireland before his expulsion by one of the native chieftains. The second of these was named *Teach na Roman*, or *Church of the Romans*. This may seem to confirm the notion that his object in Ireland was to extend the influence of the Roman see, as well as to christianise the island. After his repulse he went into Britain for the purpose of passing through the island in his way to Rome, but death overtook him at Fordun in Mearns. Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* 423, 424.

were in the south of Ireland¹; exactly, therefore, where missionaries sailing from the Somersetshire, Devonshire, or Cornish coast, or from South Wales, would naturally fix themselves. They were, in fact, precisely where one would expect to find offshoots from Glastonbury; and that very place continued, even down to Dunstan's days, a prominent object of Irish veneration.² This it could scarcely fail of being, if it were the spot in which Germanus found Patrick, and whence he took him into Gaul. After his residence in that country, the future apostle of Ireland began his evangelical labours in Cornwall³; and some accounts make him to have finished his days at Glastonbury, and to have been buried there.⁴ These accounts are, indeed, considered by Archbishop Ussher as not applicable to him, but to his nephew, who is known as the younger Patrick.⁵ But this is immaterial. The only points for consideration are the

¹ *Church of St. Patrick*, Lond. 1845, p. 14.

² *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 170.

³ Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* 429.

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 170.

⁵ Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* 429. Patrick, originally named *Suc-cath*, was born at a place in the modern Scotland, since called from him *Kirk-Patrick*, or *Kil-Patrick*, between Glasgow and Dumbarton. His father was Calpurnius, a deacon, and his grandfather, Potitus, a presbyter. Thus his connections were Roman colonists professing Christianity. He seems to have been sold into slavery in Ireland when young, and this, probably, put into his head the plan of evangelising that country when free at a subsequent period of his life. He appears to have taken the name of *Patricius*, or Patrick, on his episcopal consecration in Gaul. Some accounts make him sixty at the time of his arrival as a missionary in Ireland, and to have lived another sixty years in the country; the first thirty in active employment, the remainder in religious contemplation. Upon this principle he must have died about the year 492. But most probably he died long before, and was not near sixty when he embarked upon his Irish mission. Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* 426. 437. 453.

indisputable connection of the Patrick family with Glastonbury, and the warm attachment hence engendered in the Irish Christians to that place. If these facts be viewed in conjunction with the high antiquity of the religious establishment at Glastonbury, and its probable origin from an oriental mission, a clue is found to those Easter prejudices which Augustine met with in Ireland.

Patrick's religious education might have begun amidst such prejudices at Glastonbury. His great friend Germanus was, probably, tolerant of them: if he had been otherwise, his mission to England would scarcely have been so successful as it was; nor would his memory be preserved as it is, by the dedication of Welsh churches to him. The Pelagian party might easily have raised a clamour against him, if he had shown himself an overbearing enemy to native prepossessions. Again, the monastery of Lerins might be pervaded by no very violent antipathies to the religious usages of Asia Minor. Monachism was of oriental origin, and a taste for it was awakened in Western Europe by admirers from Egypt and the East. Lerins, besides, was within a short distance of Marseilles, and probably, therefore, not unfavourable to the Levantine cast of thought which was the traditional inheritance of that celebrated mart, and which originally prevailed in the more important church of Lyons.¹ Thus Patrick's conti-

¹ "It is admitted by all the learned, and supported by irresistible evidence: that the church of Lyons was founded by missionaries from Asia. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was a disciple of Polycarp of Smyrna. Several missionaries of the church of Lyons and the neighbourhood are also said, in memorials of authority, to have been disciples of Polycarp.

mental residence, though it seems to have taught him a more accurate mode of computing Easter than that which prevailed at home, might also teach him to regard the question with a philosophic oriental eye. He might be above the party weakness of refusing help in a work really useful, because those who could give it obstinately clung to some ancient mode of settling a festival. He might even have owed success to a manly declaration that he was no second Palladius, come to preach up conformity with Rome. His object was to find subjects for the Saviour, not for the pope. Hence, if the latter's importance must give way, in order to spread salvation from the former, Patrick either came over upon the principle of disregarding that importance, or seems to have been the man to let it fall at once. No doubt such conduct shows a wise and Christian spirit in any man; but if it were learnt by the Irish apostle at Rome, it must have been from those who considered many things more useful to the religious world than the foundation of an ecclesiastical monarchy for the bishop there. Now this is all that Protestants require to have generally understood as to the Roman mission. They would have people to know that Augustine, with his coadjutors and immediate successors, made their ground good from the North

Pothinus, the predecessor of Irenæus, seems to have come from the east; and several of the early members of the church testify by their names an eastern origin. Accordingly, when the great persecution took place in A.D. 177, and their bishop, with many other Christians, suffered martyrdom, the church of Vienne and Lyons wrote an account of their sufferings to the churches of Asia and Phrygia, and to no others." Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, Oxf. 1833, i. 154.

Foreland to the confines of Devonshire, and from the Channel to the Thames ; but that out of this district native missionaries, opposed to Rome, did most of the work. Whether these valuable men are to be called, as a whole, British, or Scots, or Irish, is immaterial. Those who wish accurately to know their origin, have no occasion to seek for it in Romish books. Protestant authors tell us who they were, but they also put readers on their guard against a hasty notion that England generally was reclaimed from heathenism by the direct agency of papal Rome.

In a strict sense, therefore, the Church of Rome cannot be mother to that of England. Nor can the papal see establish any claim to this distinction in the looser sense of possessing from the first a patriarchal jurisdiction over the British isles. Learned men have repeatedly shown this ; but their arguments need not here be recapitulated¹, especially as early Anglo-Saxon history, from its eloquent silence, will not allow us to believe that our islands were considered in the Roman patriarchate. If they had been so inclined, how came the Easter question and other matters to be regulated so completely against the will of Rome ? Surely the ancient capital must have possessed both will and means to influence the Britons, remote as they were. We know, in fact, that in Constantine's time the prevailing arrangement of the Easter festival actually had made some progress in Britain. But it seems to have been no more than

¹ Those who wish to understand these questions, may see them sufficiently discussed in Cave's *Dissertation concerning the Government of the Ancient Church*.

a partial adoption of the foreign system, which, therefore, fell again as soon as Roman society disappeared from the island. If the patriarchal powers of Rome, however, had been recognised by the ancient British church, it is not likely that Augustine would have encountered the opposition that he did. The Roman civil authority continued long enough to allow the papal see, under support of any recognised ecclesiastical authority, to root a very different state of feeling in the insular Christians. Nor after these islands again became independent of the imperial power, did intercourse with a Roman authority merely spiritual become at all impracticable. Nor can we believe that means would not have been found of keeping up such an intercourse, if any religious dependence on the see of Rome had been immemorially admitted in the British islands. The presumption against such admission is, however, made all but irresistible by the total want of reference to it in the discussions that Augustine's mission engendered. We do not, indeed, know the ground on which the Roman missionary placed his claim to the primacy of Britain. He, therefore, might have rested it upon the pope's patriarchal privileges. But these were quite as useful in arguing the Easter question, and other matters which the Roman party wished to carry. In these cases, however, some, if not most, of the arguments have been preserved, but we find no notice taken in them of any patriarchal power vested in the pope. It is hence reasonable to infer that no argument of this kind came forward in any of the disputes which arose from the Roman mission. But this is much like saying that no claim

to patriarchal jurisdiction over Britain had ever then been set up by the papal see. The same may be said of Ireland. Whether Patrick was ever at Rome or no, if he had brought away from that city any notion that its bishop was entitled to a patriarchal jurisdiction over the future scene of his missionary labours, it is most unlikely that his spiritual children should have been found in Augustine's days obstinately bigoted against Romish usages, and that Ireland should have been among the latest of western countries to acknowledge the papal authority.¹

¹ Patrick "did not apply to the papal see to have the election of the bishops appointed by him confirmed; nor is there extant any rescript from the apostolic see to him, or any epistle of his to Rome. St. Austin of Canterbury corresponded with his master, St. Gregory, about a century and a half later; and it is only natural to suppose that St. Patrick might have done the same with the Roman bishops of his day. But the fact is, that we have no record or hint of his having kept up any communication with Rome from the time of his arrival in Ireland until his death." (Todd's *Church of St. Patrick*, 30.) "I have not been able to discover any fair instance of a bishop being elected to an Irish see by the interference of the pope, from the mission of St. Patrick until after the English invasion; and it is a fact admitted by a learned Roman Catholic antiquarian, that *our episcopal clergy never applied to that see for bulls of ratification, provisions, or exemption.*" (*Ib.* 35.) The real origin of Irish popery is the English invasion under Henry II. The Irish prelates before that time had been kept in a state of subserviency by the native chieftains, which was the more distasteful, because their brethren elsewhere, under the patronage of Rome, had risen into a very different position. The inferior clergy too found themselves unable to enforce the payment of tithes, which in other countries was regularly made under legal sanction, and which they represented as divinely conferred upon themselves. These selfish considerations made nearly the whole clerical body of Ireland anxious to welcome the English invaders, who pretended to come over under a grant from the pope. How that Italian prelate became possessed of any right to make such a grant, few people, or probably none, then took any trouble to think. In after times the difficulty has been solved in four different ways. Either Constantine gave all islands to the pope, or the pope was destined by ancient prophecy for the dominion of all islands, or some king of Munster and other chieftains had, some time or other, given up their dominions to the pope, on some pilgrimage to Rome, or the whole

When such facts are duly weighed, surely no native of these islands need fear to be driven by authentic history to acknowledge the Church of Rome as the *mother* of his own church, in any sense of the word. That the papal church became eventually the *mistress* of his own, as she did of all the other western churches, is true, indeed, enough. But it is very well known how this power was gained. Every step towards the acquisition is recorded by unexceptionable witnesses, and they show that it was made in the ordinary manner. Worldly ends were accomplished by worldly men, through worldly means, and generally were used for the selfish objects which engross the affections of worldly men. Among the means that have been repeatedly used by religious parties to gain power, are appeals to miracles in their favour. Such appeals, accordingly, are among the earliest engines used by the papal party in England. It might, undoubtedly, seem very unlikely that Providence should break through the ordinary course of nature, in order to make Augustine primate of Britain, and gain an influence for the Roman church, which was to show itself at once in regulating the time of a festival, and in forcing an unwilling people into various formalities

Irish nation, in St. Patrick's time, from gratitude for that missionary's labours, had made over the sovereignty of their island to the pope. But whatever might be the pontiff's title to interfere, his countenance of the English invasion answered the purposes of the native clergy, until England, soon after the Reformation, set to work in earnest upon the conquest and civilisation of the country. Then the chieftainry became zealous papists, and popular hatred of the English was inflamed by representing, that however bad they might always have been by being oppressors, they were now become incalculably worse from having turned heretics. Phelan's *Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland*, 12.

after a foreign fashion. Very different are such objects, and of a very much lower order than those that were proposed by the well-authenticated miracles that Scripture details. But parties open to the marvellous never seem to take such views, even in times of great general enlightenment. In the year 600, or thereabouts, cool arguers and keen discerners must have been very rare indeed. Augustine, accordingly, if inclined to shine as a thaumaturge, might fairly reckon upon doing so with credit. He seems to have had this inclination. At all events, a place is claimed for him among workers of miracles, although some of those which are recorded by the second-rate class of his biographers have rather a tendency to make him look ridiculous. Most probably a cautious Romanist would gladly refrain from any notice of this illustrious missionary's alleged power to overrule the laws of nature. At all events, the recent advocacy of his miracles is rather elaborate than full, and is not very direct. But it appears in both volumes of Dr. Lingard's work, and might impress hasty readers with a notion that the learned author wished to place the Kentish apostle's extraordinary doings upon something like a level with Scripture miracles. He first mentions the belief of the missionaries and of their disciples in these English prodigies. This may be readily conceded; but it leaves the question exactly where the historian found it: not so what follows. We read of Augustine's *gifts*, as if the stories of his marvels were taken for irrefragable testimonies to his possession from above of especial powers over nature. Undoubtedly, the term gift is often employed in ludi-

crous irony. But such can scarcely be the employment of it in this place. Not only is the writer's object adverse to such a supposition, but also, in his second volume, Scripture comes forth again to suggest a parallel favourable to the Romish missionary, and we find it then pronounced fair to draw such a parallel.¹ Those who live in habitual reverence of Scripture, think few things more objectionable than to push forward God's undoubted word, when men want help out of some difficulty of their own creation. The Bible, therefore, is not likely to come into their heads while they are considering such cases as Augustine's alleged miracles. They naturally think of other things which may account for stories of this kind, without supposing any thing miraculous. Upon this principle the *Anglo-Saxon Church* has gone in treating of the Kentish apostle's thaumaturgic fame. Such matter-of-fact views do not, however, suit Romish

¹ "It was their conviction" (that of the missionaries) "and that of the proselytes, that signs and wonders, similar to those which ushered in the Gospel among the Jews, had been repeated in England through their ministry. The report had even reached the ears of Gregory in Rome, who began to fear that such distinguished gifts might generate a spirit of pride in his disciple." (i. 41.) "Of the facts themselves it is plain that he" (Gregory) "entertained no doubt. He compared them to the signs and prodigies which had accompanied the preaching of the Apostles, and it will be no easy matter to shew why he should not. The cases were parallel. In each the object was the same, the conversion of an unbelieving people to the faith of Christ." (ii. 100.) Persons without Romish, or *quasi*-Romish prepossessions, will find it an *easy matter to shew* reason for placing Augustine's miracles and those of the Apostles on grounds wholly different. With all due submission to no ordinary mind, it may be argued that the cases were any thing rather than *parallel*. In one case, Paganism and Judaism were to be wholly superseded by a new system. In the other case, an opening made by Roman means, but immensely improved without them, was to be closed against the improving party by means of help from these alleged miracles.

purposes; and, accordingly, Augustine cannot be exhibited as an ordinary man without at least extorting a note of admiration.¹ Yet it is easy to show the hollowness of his claims to any supernatural endowments. His recorded miracles, and those detailed in Scripture, are parted from each other by distinctions very obvious and very wide. One of these is, that Scripture miracles are detailed by contemporaries, which Augustine's are not. Another is, that the Bible is not one continuous history of miracle. On the contrary, it might lead us to believe that miraculous powers have rarely been exhibited unless for facilitating some of those mighty religious changes that society witnesses only now and then.

If Israel is to be preserved from farther contamination in idolatrous Egypt, a Moses rises up with mira-

¹ Dr. Lingard tells us that Dr. Aikin, in the *General Biography*, "dances from one unsatisfactory hypothesis to another, till at length he rests, but with apparent reluctance, in the notion, that the pontiff and the missionary were engaged in a conspiracy to seduce the infidels from error to truth by imaginary miracles. But then would these conspirators have been careful to conceal the real fact from each other in their confidential correspondence? Would St. Gregory have thought such miracles of sufficient importance to write an account of them to the patriarch of Alexandria? Mr. Soames has adopted a different explication. He tells us that *Jutish Kent presented a most inviting field to one possessed of the public eye, and disposed to gratify it by the assumption of miraculous endowments. Augustine appears to have been sufficiently forward in thus amusing his adopted countrymen. He might, indeed, have really suspected some degree of truth in his pretensions. For among parties desirous of his wonder-working intervention, some must have laboured under nervous ailments. In such cases strong excitement and firm conviction would naturally render any juggling process productive of temporary benefit. In cases positively hopeless, he lulled his conscience probably under a little pious fraud (as language poisonously runs), by the false and execrable maxim, that the end justifies the means. Gregory's disposition for scrutiny was equally dormant. He seems to have heard of Augustine's miracles with all that implicit credulity which was then generally prevalent. His indeed, apparently, was a mind en-*

culous powers. If the chosen seed itself so yields to the facination of paganism as to be all but wholly perverted by it, an Elijah comes forward, and miracles give him influence enough to stay the plague. If the time is come for superseding the law by the gospel, miracles announce the change, and supply facilities for effecting it. Other instances of miraculous agency in the inspired, and therefore the only safe, record of it, may similarly be connected with objects of unquestionable importance. Now the papal party's triumph over native opposition in Anglo-Saxon times is no such object. The gaining of this triumph was not even necessary for completing the conversion of England. The heathens of that country had Christian neighbours on the north and west, to say nothing of those on the opposite continent. Their eventual conversion, and at no very distant time, was, therefore, a matter of reasonable calculation, without any aid from miracles. Nor does Bede attribute any miracles to Augustine, which might obviously not have been a mere collusion. A man was produced who could see, but had been

amoured of the marvellous. At all events, his politic habits readily made him patronise a wonderful tale, whenever it seemed likely to raise the dignity of Rome, or advance a favourite notion ! (Soames' Hist. 51, 52.) Upon the preliminary matter it may be remarked, that a few formal letters between public men differ considerably from *confidential correspondence*. Probably, however, a confidential letter, if one ever existed at all, might have told much the same tale that appears in the extant letters. Nothing else was to be expected from the men and their age. Such men, undoubtedly, and people to believe them, are always to be found. But, of late, the men soon sink into insignificance, and the age becomes ashamed of itself for celebrating their proceedings. To these things Prince Hohenlohe and *his* miracles bear witness. Twenty years ago the newspapers were full of both. Now the thaumaturge is sobered down into an ordinary Hungarian bishop, and he has allowed his amazing qualities either to go out, or lie asleep.

blind, it was said, and owed his cure to Augustine. He was thus benefited, however, to overcome the opposition of the Christian Britons to the dictation and pretensions of a foreign missionary. Thus the alleged miracle was wrought for the purpose of bringing about a party triumph. No wonder that, in spite of it, British opposition continued unabated. Other miracles, attributed in after times to Augustine, are little else than those of Scripture with his name appended to them. In one of them he represents Elijah, but in caricature, and encumbers the scoffers of a Dorsetshire village with tails; an encumbrance that, we are told, became hereditary.¹ The authority for this ridiculous relation is, undoubtedly, not older than the

¹ This ridiculous account is preserved by Gotselin, or Gocelin, evidently the modern *Gosling*, who was a French monk that seems to have come into England in the eleventh century. It may be seen in the *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 67. The piece in which it stands is entitled *Historia Minor de Vita S. Aug. Archiep. Cant.* The *Historia Major* is printed in the *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* sæc. i. p. 486. ed. Ven., and is followed (p. 520.) by *Libellus de Miraculis S. Aug.* The *Historia Major* treats the tail story as a *report*, but the *Historia Minor* speaks of it as a *fact*. Gotselin says that he found his materials partly in Bede, partly in other old books. But we know not how old these were, and even Bede is not old enough to testify of Augustine's miracles, as he was not born until thirty years or more after that missionary was dead. He does really, however, testify to no miracles of his at all, the blind man's cure being quite easy to understand without recourse to any thing miraculous. It is clear, however, that Augustine laid claim to miraculous powers. How then are we to account for this claim, and for the absence of any thing like contemporary testimony to substantiate it? The claim having been made, it is easy enough to see its operation afterwards in the production of such stories as we find. Idle, artful, superstitious, gossiping monks, secluded in a cloister, had only to pick up accounts of missionaries, fit them to miracles recorded in Scripture, and suppose that Augustine, or any other personage highly venerated, must be the party intended. Such a process applied to some missionary in Dorsetshire, to whom the rabble fastened a fish-tail in derision, would readily bring Augustine upon the scene, and make him act, or rather caricature, Elijah.

eleventh century, and even Bede was no contemporary. It is, however, certain that Augustine really did lay claim to miraculous powers, and that Gregory the Great admitted this claim. In these things, neither might have been a party to a deliberate deception. Men are often found willing to believe strange things if their own vanity be fed by them. Hence both pope and missionary might easily be decoyed by self-love into giving countenance to fine stories about themselves, which cool observers would see at once were bottomed in delusion. There had been, besides, introduced into the church, among other evils from pagan philosophy, a notion that deception was allowable when it served the cause of truth.¹ There is no doubt that both the pope and his friend attributed this service to the alleged English miracles. Hence

¹ This subject is treated with his usual learning and ability by Mosheim in his treatise *De Turbata per Recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia*, printed among his *Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes*, i. 89. He there shews that deception for the sake of doing good was a principle long in good repute among the Pagans. Æschylus could talk of that *righteous deceit* (ἀπάρη δικαία) which God approves; and Plato allowed falsehood in the chiefs of a state for the public good, although he condemned it in inferior persons. When philosophers of his sect became Christians, they brought this principle among others highly objectionable with them; and Origen, accordingly, lays it down, *that we are not to lie unless some great good be sought by it*. A deceit of this kind Chrysostom will scarcely allow to be called a deceit at all; but he says that it should rather go by the name of a *sort of management and sagacity* (οἰκονομία τῆς καὶ σοφίας). Augustine utterly condemned and rejected this principle, but its business was done, and he could not undo it. Mosheim well observes that this principle is the key to all the fictitious miracles, fabulous histories, and apocryphal books that are met with among the early Christians. As time advanced, the rooting of this principle in the church made matters worse. The general ignorance laid all men extremely open to deception, and encouraged the few who had more discernment than common, to be very lax in scrutinising the pretensions of any thing that seemed likely to answer a good end. Mosheim, *ut supra*, 196. 199. 203. 206. 209.

they might be quite willing to let other people believe them without more than half believing them themselves.

There are, besides, obvious facilities in human nature for the entertainment and communication of delusions about miracles. Most ignorant minds are credulous, and credulity may often be easily awakened in quarters that might seem to be above it. Society abounds, besides, with vapoured, fanciful, excitable, self-important valetudinarians; and it is in that class chiefly that materials are found for operations deemed miraculous. It is quite lately that a young German lady was impelled by a delirious fit of fanatical excitement into a muscular effort, which gave relief under a contraction that surgeons had long found intractable.¹ The *holy coat of Treves*, which shamed so many of her countrymen out of Romanism, gave in this case a salutary stimulus, at least for a time. A like thing happened in our own country some years ago, when the late Edward Irving set enthusiastic brains to work upon unknown tongues, and other extravagancies considered religious. A young woman, it was then said in print,

¹ This young lady, whose family, which is noble, need not be pained by any further allusion to their name, had a contraction of the knee-joint of several years standing. She was carried to the church, but returned to the inn with no other help than leaning on her grandmother's arm. Her cure continued, and she was able to walk about her room without support, but she required it elsewhere. In straightening her leg at the cathedral, she ruptured some of the tendons, which produced an effusion of blood and inflammation. Physicians reasonably said, that if one of them could have gotten that hold upon her mind, which was gained by the *holy coat*, she might have straightened her leg at his bidding, as she did in gazing ecstatically on the relic. Laing's *Notes on the Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Schism from the Church of Rome, called the German Catholic Church*, Lond. 1845, p. 30.

long thought by herself and others incapable of walking down stairs, was asked, *Have you faith?* Her answer being, *Yes*, it was said, *Then follow me down to supper.* She did so immediately. Upon the former of these cases, a Protestant would readily observe, that nature's laws are not likely to be suspended, to prove any thing so utterly incredible as the existence now of our Saviour's *coat without seam*, and to justify church dignitaries in awakening the spirit of superstitious holiday-making which recently poured such enormous multitudes into Treves.¹ In the latter case, a Romanist would ridicule the notion of especial gifts vouchsafed to a religious party, which looked upon the papal throne as the stool of the scarlet courtesan of Babylon. Considerable weight could undoubtedly be given to either of these views. It is, therefore, very useful for the placing of religion upon a sound and rational foundation, to discountenance the won-

¹ Our Saviour's coat without seam is said to have been one among the wonderful discoveries of the Empress Helena, about the year 326. How it could have lasted so long, unless it was prepared, like the cerecloth of the Egyptian mummies (which is not part of the story), is inconceivable without a miracle. Helena is said to have given this relic to Treves, but there is no trace of its existence there before the year 1056, or the year 1196. Others, indeed, contend that its existence cannot be proved before the year 1514, when a bull of indulgence was issued to such as went in pilgrimage to it, and contributed to the funds of the cathedral. It is probable, however, that this relic, or a similar one, really was at Treves at one of the earlier dates assigned to its existence there, or about that time. Crusaders and other pilgrims from Palestine were then incessantly returning into the West, and relics were constantly imported by them. The *holy coat*, besides, though for the most part evidently of no extraordinary antiquity, has flakes ingeniously fastened upon it of some older woollen fabric, which, no doubt, has for the most part perished by the process of natural decay. The famous pilgrimage to it began August 18. 1844, and lasted six weeks. Above a million persons went upon it: some estimate the number at a million and a half. Laing, *ut supra*, 8. 24.

derful relations of ignorant ages and heated imaginations. The accounts may not be absolutely false: perhaps, when well authenticated, they seldom are so; but, at the same time, they may relate nothing really miraculous. The parties compromised also, however worthy on the whole, would generally be pronounced, under close examination, credulous, vain, and enthusiastic. In ruder times, besides, when artifice is always very much in vogue, an end, considered unquestionably good, would make many persons, really respectable at bottom, very willing to delude, and very easy to be deluded.

Perhaps, after all, Augustine was rather willing to talk about miracles, than attempt them. If the case had been otherwise, the pleadings for Roman usages would scarcely have avoided all reference to supernatural manifestations in their favour. None such, however, are on record. Hence it seems likely, that very little notice was taken of these miraculous attestations in England. A distant point like Rome, as is commonly the case with marvels, might be better fitted for Augustine's thaumaturgic fame, than the scene on which he gained it. But however this may be, it is known that the Roman party made good its first step towards ascendancy, not only by very ordinary means, but also in a manner positively ridiculous. Discerning Romanists accordingly look very thin-skinned when their party's first great English triumph comes before them. The foreign missionaries carried their Easter and other peculiarities at the conference of Whitby. Of this important debate, both in his *Antiquities of the Anglo Saxon Church* and in

his *History of England*, Dr. Lingard has necessarily given accounts, but neither of these works lets us know how the discussion was terminated. For this information the Romish public has had to wait until the learned writer's last publication. It could no longer be denied. Readers had become familiar with other accounts of the Whitby Conference, and these remarked upon the silence by which that affair had maintained a fair appearance in Romish works. For this silence, of course, the authors alone could certainly assign a cause. But conjecture will step forward in such cases, and not unallowably. In this instance, readers who knew the whole truth have taken the liberty of supposing that only a part of it was brought forward, from its obvious tendency, when completely known, to make the Romish triumph look ludicrous and collusive. An anonymous writer has accounted, on this principle, for the omission by king Alfred, or whosoever else translated Bede's history into Saxon, of the chapter which contains this mockery of a debate.¹ Nor is the supposition very unlikely

¹ "The Saxon translator of Bede often passes over entire chapters of the original. He has passed over both these chapters; and it has recently been discovered that he omitted c. 25. *through indignation at the victory of the Romanists over the Scots!* (Soames, p. 73.) But what then was his motive for passing over c. 26., which contains Bede's glowing eulogium on the virtues of these very Scots? Not indignation certainly." (Lingard, i. 58.) A plausible answer might easily be found to this question, but none is necessary. It is enough to observe, that the *discovery* is that of a writer cited from the *British Magazine*. That Colman felt himself unworthily treated, appears from this passage in Bede. *Colman, seeing his doctrine spurned, and that his sect had been despised, taking those with him who were willing to follow him (that is, those who would not receive the Catholic Easter, and the tonsure of the crown, for about this also there was no little question), returned into Scotland, for the purpose of treating with his friends there about what ought to be done concerning these things.* (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 26. p. 228.)

in that case, though its probability is much greater in the case of a modern Romish author, hoping to influence superior life, both within his own communion and without it. He could scarcely help shrinking from the smile that was pretty sure some time ago to light up the face of every reader who had the whole story placed before his eyes. Of late, undoubtedly, the public mind has been extensively imbued with a more reverential feeling for every thing that has benefited Rome. But even now most Englishmen think of papal questions much as they and their fathers did heretofore; and all such people will consider nothing more likely than that grave men who had been joked out of grave and loved employments by a semi-barbarous chieftain, eager to escape farther importunities from his wife, really were trifled with most shamefully, and must have left in deep disgust the scene on which they had been so unworthily requited.* Nor when they see the joke omitted on which the triumph turned, will such readers generally account for the omission on any other principle, than that their author, however he might love the cause, was ashamed of the misplaced wit that gained it.

It is undoubtedly true, that Rome introduced into

Thus men to whose virtues and services the strongest commendations are universally given, were driven away in disgust from the people who had long known and valued them, because they would not keep a festival and shave their heads according to a foreign fashion, which was decidedly adverse to their hereditary prejudices. They might well be angry at such treatment, especially when they saw it come from a prince who had hitherto protected them, and shared their prejudices, but who was now tired of wrangling with his wife, and, therefore, gladly took hold of an opening in the debate to justify his change of conduct, although he thereby turned the whole proceedings into a farce which modern Romanists are ashamed of.

Britain a more accurate paschal cycle than the one which had hitherto been in use there.¹ This is, however, a mere matter of antiquarian curiosity. Not so are the arguments upon which the Roman pleadings rested. These, it is interesting and needful to remark, did not bring forward any allegation, that the papal see was entitled of itself to decide the question. The Roman chair was, indeed, mentioned as worthy of extreme deference in the matter, but only as one ingredient in a weight of authority conjointly vested in four apostolical sees²; the whole

¹ "The Romans kept the memorial of our Lord's resurrection upon that Sunday which fell betwixt the 15th and 21st day of the moon (both terms included) next after the 21st day of March, which they accounted to be the seat of the vernal æquinoctium; that is to say, the time of the spring wherein the day and night were of an equal length. And in reckoning the age of the moon they followed the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years (whence our golden number had its original), as it was explained to them by Dionysius Exiguus. The northern Irish and Scottish, together with the Picts, observed the custom of the Britons, keeping their Easter upon the Sunday that fell betwixt the 14th and the 20th day of the moon, and following in their account thereof, not the nineteen years' computation of Anatolius, but Sulpicius Severus's circle of eighty-four years. For howsoever they extolled Anatolius for appointing, as they supposed, the bounds of Easter betwixt the 14th and 20th day of the moon, yet Wilfrid, in the synod of Strenshal, chargeth them utterly to have rejected his cycle of nineteen years; from which, therefore, Cummiianus draweth an argument against them, that they never can come to the true account of Easter, who observe the cycle of eighty-four years." Abp. Ussher's *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, Camb. 1835, p. 600.

² *I found it written that they are to be excommunicated, and driven out of the church, and anathematised, who go contrary to the canonical statutes of the fourfold apostolical see (the Roman, that is, the Hierosolymitan, the Antiochian, the Alexandrian), these all agreeing in the unity of Easter. (Cummiian, an Irishman, to Segienus, abbot of Hy, about the Paschal Controversy. Ussher, Sylloge, 27.) These four sees are taken in another place as a sort of impersonation of the church. It is written in the law, He that shall curse father or mother, let him die the death. What can be thought worse of mother church than to say, Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, all the world errs. It is only the Scots and Britons who know what is right? (Ib. 31.)*

four, it is argued, concurring in an Easter arrangement at variance with the British; and it must be a

Who this Cummin, or Cummin, was, is disputed; but Mr. Todd considers him to have been a monk in St. Columba's monastery at Durrow, who lived and died in Ireland. (*Church of St. Patrick*, 104.) He was no early, or hasty, convert to the Roman system, but adopted it after much reading and inquiry, which he details in a manner very creditable for his age. A person capable of writing so, tedious as he would now seem, naturally had considerable weight in the seventh century. Cummin, accordingly, having become a convert to the Roman system, asked five Irish bishops, whom he calls *successors of our first fathers, what they thought of our excommunication incurred from the foresaid apostolic sees?* Of course this question was reinforced by his reasons for taking the view that he had adopted; and the prelates addressed, in consequence, convoked a synod "at *Magh Lene*, or *Campus Lene*, near Old Leighlin." They professed to do this, because they had been traditionally instructed to receive *humbly, without scruple, things proved to be better, and improvements, from the fountain of our baptism and wisdom, and from the successors of the Lord's apostles.* It is plain, therefore, that those who convoked this synod had first made up their minds to abandon the old Irish system for the Roman, and being leading persons, their scheme was very nearly carried. But a *whited wall* got up, and pleaded *the tradition of the elders*; a line of argument which rendered unavailing all that had hitherto been done on the other side, to the extreme annoyance of Cummin, who expresses a hope that *the Lord would somehow strike* this troublesome opponent *according to his pleasure.* The synod ended in a determination to send, *according to synodical authority, in case of greater causes, a reference to the head of cities.* Some persons, accordingly, of *known humility and wisdom*, were sent to Rome *like children to their mother.* These last words have given great satisfaction to Romish writers and readers, but they really prove nothing more than that Rome had been the metropolis of Europe, and still very much retained that character. It is evident that the matter of excommunication did not turn upon Rome only, but upon Rome's concurrence with the other sees considered apostolical. It may be added, that these Irish travellers came home in the third year after their departure, and related, that they found every body at Rome, come he whence he might, *keeping Easter at the Roman time.* As an additional reason why the Irish should do so, the messengers declared Rome to contain relics, before which they *had seen with their own eyes a blind girl opening her eyes wide, and a paralytic walking, and many devils cast out.* Cummin declares that he mentions these things not for the purpose of blaming his friends at Hy, but lest he should be taken for *an owl skulking in his home.* It is plain, therefore, that St. Patrick's pupils at Iona, if there were any such there, must have pretty thoroughly lost all reverence for the instructions which, we are told, came among them from his residence in Rome.

strange obstinacy and inconsistency, that a handful of people in the extremity of the earth should keep up a system contrary to those canons, which the fourfold impersonation of apostolical authority had formally approved. Among these four sees Rome stands first, but then the ancient capital was remembered and respected as the greatest of cities, long after her greatness had in a very considerable degree departed.¹ Her bishop, therefore, naturally bore an importance which was rather of a civil, than of an ecclesiastical, character. Hence little notice is taken of him personally in the arguments which Roman partizans advanced for their Easter. They insist upon various errors in the British usage, and hence upon the folly of clinging to it; much as people now would endeavour to shame a country town or neighbourhood out of setting up its own prejudices and ignorance against the information and intelligence of London.² On the contrary, the native party rests

¹ Hence Adamnan, abbot of Hy, or Iona, writing about the year 700, says of Columba's fame, that although the saint lived in that small and remote isle of the British ocean, it not only spread over all Scotland (Ireland) and Britain, the greatest island in the whole world, but also reached as far as Spain, and the Gauls, and *Italy situated beyond the Pennine Alps; and even to the Roman city itself, which is the head of all cities.* Ussher, *Sylloge*, 43.

² *The same Pope Honorius also sent a letter to the nation of the Scots, whom he had found to err in the keeping of holy Easter, as we have shewn before, ably exhorting them, that they should not estimate their paucity, placed in the extreme boundaries of the earth, as wiser than the churches of Christ, ancient and modern, which are all over the world; and that they should not celebrate another Easter contrary to the paschal reckonings, and the decrees of all the world's pontiffs in synod. John also, who succeeded Severinus, successor of the same Honorius, as soon as he was elected to the pontificate, sent a letter to them with great authority, and full of erudition, plainly making it appear that Easter Sunday should be sought from the fifteenth of the moon to the twenty-first, as the Nicene synod settled.* (Bed. ii. 19. p. 148.) Thus these popes brought

entirely upon the indisputable antiquity of its traditions, their unbroken descent, and their origin, as established by records, from our Lord's loved disciple John.¹ Nothing, therefore, is more unlikely, than that this party, call it what we may, received its divinity from Rome. In fact, Wilfrid's pleading might lead us to assign that very early origin to the British conversion which ancient legends name. St. John's usage, it is maintained, came from his desire to conciliate Jewish prejudice, and has been abandoned, since his death, by all the Asian prelacy.²

forward no plea of authority. They had only to say, that the insular Christians were mistaken in their astronomy, and took more upon themselves than was becoming, in adhering to the mistake after it had been exploded by such a concurrence of the most competent judges. It is true that John's letter is said to have been written *with great authority*. But this might be said, and is said, of any very able letter. Now John's letter was considered to be of that kind. It evidently contained statements to convince the insular Christians of error. Any authority, farther than as a leading prelate, and a well-prepared letter-writer, the pope was not likely to claim. His predecessor Honorius had been disregarded, and nothing was more likely to secure the same fate for himself, than the assertion of a claim which must have been considered offensive.

¹ The following is Colman's defence of the native Easter. *The Easter which I am in the habit of keeping, I received from greater men than myself, who sent me hither as bishop, and all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated it in the same way. Which, lest any one should think it to be despised and reprobated, is the very one that the blessed evangelist John, the disciple specially loved by the Lord, is said to have celebrated, with all the churches over which he presided.* Bed. iii. 25. p. 222.

² Wilfrid's answer is too long for translation. It first urges, that the speaker had seen the Roman Easter kept at Rome, where the apostles Peter and Paul lived, taught, suffered, and were buried; had seen it also in Italy and Gaul, through which he had travelled; and that it was kept in Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and in every Christian country besides, except among the Irish, Picts, and Britons, who are taxed with folly for fighting against all the rest of the world. Colman observed, that folly was an improper term to use in describing those who followed the example of the disciple who was thought worthy of leaning upon our Lord's breast, and whom all the world knew to have lived in the wisest way. Wilfrid now disclaimed any intention of

This account might make one think that Britain was converted not only by missionaries from Asia, but also while John still lived. Nothing, indeed, can be more unfavourable than the whole of this obscure mass of information, to any hypothesis that would

charging John with folly, but attributed his conduct to the necessity of conciliating Jewish prejudice, at a time when judaising was very rife in the church. To this necessity he attributed the *repudiation of images, which were invented by demons, lest, namely, offence should be given to the Jews who were among the Gentiles*. This is a curious passage, as it shews that the pagan leaven had begun to work vigorously among Wilfrid's Roman friends, and that excuses were already found for its inconsistency with Scripture. Wilfrid goes on with his argument by citing St. Paul's circumcision of Timothy, his sacrifices in the temple, and his shaving his head at Corinth (Cenchrea). Upon this principle he puts St. John's usage in the celebration of Easter; but the usage, he maintains, in the apostle's hands, was strictly Jewish, no notice being taken of any day in the week, whereas the British party kept Easter only on a Sunday. He, therefore, charges them with disregarding St. John in this matter, quite as much as they did St. Peter. They agreed, he said, *neither with John, nor Peter, nor the law, nor the gospel*. Colman then cited Anatolius and Columba as authorities. But Wilfrid maintained that Anatolius was against them, as they would have known, if they had been better informed. As for Columba, he said, people might do many things in the Lord's name, whom the Lord would disown as unknown to him. But he added, that it was better to believe good than harm of parties with whom one is not acquainted; and hence the good persons mentioned were to be considered as fixed in the old way, because no one had penetrated their rustic obscurity to teach them a better. In fine, Wilfrid charged his opponents with sin, if they *contemptuously would not follow the decrees of the apostolic see, nay rather of the universal church, and these confirmed by Scripture. Although your fathers, he added, were holy men, is their fewness in one corner of a remote island to be preferred to the universal church of Christ, which is all over the world?* He then went on to compare Columba with Peter, and thus brought about the ridiculous termination which expelled the native Easter from Northumbria. The whole debate is particularly worthy of notice, because papal authority to decide the question is not pleaded. The papal see's importance is made to him upon its agreement with the church generally, upon the consonance of that agreement with Scripture, and upon St. Peter's privileges. These last are an evident set off against St. John, *the loved disciple*. But the king chose to draw the parallel between St. Peter and Columba, and thus found a ludicrous opportunity for terminating a debate, of which he must long have been weary.

connect Rome with early British Christianity. Palladius, we know, came from Rome, and failed. Of those who succeeded, and Patrick appears to have been among the most successful of them, scarcely any thing is ascertainable beyond the fact, that when their labours came to light, not a trace could be discerned in them of any connection with the papal see. The Ephesine church may, therefore, be the mother of the British, but the Roman can have no claim to any such distinction.

CHAPTER III.

ARCHBISHOP THEODORE.

Appointment of Archbishop Theodore.—Controversy upon its nature.—Bede's account of it. —Theodore's delay in reaching England.—Construction of Pope Vitalian's letter. — Theodore's Oriental predilections.—His long stay in Gaul.

It will not be supposed in any well informed quarter, that all dissension upon the Roman usages was ended by the Whitby triumph. After the auditors, both high and low, who had applauded, as both did, Oswy's dexterous and amusing escape from any farther public discussion, and from any more private arguments with his wife, upon such a great mistake as hearing rustic Northumbria rather than polished Rome, the more serious among them could not fail of entertaining doubts upon the propriety of recent events. The departure of a man so highly venerated as Colman, with others who commanded, probably, quite as much respect in their several degrees, must have been deeply felt, after a time, among the graver spirits in northern England. It is true that a better system of computing Easter had been gained for the country, and that its adoption had been pressed upon unexceptionable grounds. But none of the arguments had convinced Colman and his adherents. Hence those who knew the great value of these disinterested men, were certain eventually to take some blame upon themselves for turning round so abruptly upon

their old instructors. As these respected individuals were members of a party that sheltered itself under the most venerable traditions, and had ramifications, more or less vigorous, all over England, the native princes must soon have found themselves still at a distance from religious peace. Hence they naturally continued on the watch for some incident which might obliterate all traces of recent animosities.

Such an incident was afforded by the death of Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury. The two most powerful Anglo-Saxon sovereigns, namely, those of Northumbria and Kent, then concurred in choosing Wighard, a native priest, for the metropolitical see, and in sending him to Rome for consecration. He thus might re-appear in England, not only quite unconnected with the party that had been stigmatised as rustic, ignorant, and self-willed, but also with the recommendations of having visited the great metropolis of western Europe, where lay entombed, as every body thought, St. Peter and St. Paul; and of coming home, approved and consecrated by the former apostle's acknowledged successor. The scheme, was, however, frustrated by the death of Wighard. On reaching Rome, he died of a pestilence that was raging there, as did also most of those who came with him. Vitalian, then pope, made use of this opportunity to confer, as it proved, a very great benefit upon England. After some delay, he induced Theodore to accept the see of Canterbury, and it never had a more valuable occupant. Upon this great prelate's very useful qualities, there is, however, little or no difference of opinion. But it is otherwise

as to the preliminaries by which England gained his important services. Romanists represent his appointment as a proof that England acknowledged herself under papal authority. Most Protestants consider the facts open to no such inference.

The two kings despatched a letter, not extant, with Wighard to Vitalian. The Romish hypothesis requires this communication to have described the bearer, and to have contained, besides, some such language as this, "If he should die at Rome, have the goodness to find another such, and send him over, properly ordained." Upon any other supposition Wighard was, of course, described, and said to be just the sort of man that England wanted. But it is not needful to imagine, likewise, that Vitalian was requested to look out such another, if he should happen to die abroad. On the contrary, it is very reasonable to suppose, that his death was considered at Rome as highly inopportune, unless the pope should adopt some plan for retaining, and perhaps improving, the advantages which his visit promised. Protestant readers of papal history can easily see ground for thinking that popes, or those who advise them, always have been eminently fit for improving such incidents; nor do those who suspect all religion that is not to be found in Scripture, account in any other way for very much of the greatness that papal Rome gradually gained.

The Romish view of Theodore's appointment has, however, been approved by one recent Protestant authority.¹ But another agrees with the *Anglo-Saxon*

¹ *Early English Church*, p. 67. note. Mr. Churton grounds this opinion upon the words in the pope's letter, *secundum vestrorum scrip-*

*Church*¹, and much unquestionably may be said in corroboration of this. One reason in its favour is the improbability that Wighard should have taken a letter, providing for such a contingency as his death, and surrendering, in that case, the nomination of his successor to Vitalian. Even if the two kings had the inclination, they do not appear to have had the power of making any such surrender. Wighard, although sent with a letter from the two kings, had been previously elected and approved by the English church generally.² The national authorities, lay and clerical,

torum tenorem, which he translates *such as your letter asks for*; and then he proceeds to censure *some modern writers*, without naming any, but citing words used in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, for thinking that the Saxon kings made no contingent request to Vitalian. Let the author of that work beg to be excused in saying that he still ventures to think so, and cannot accept the version put upon the pope's words.

¹ "The death of Wighard, who fell a victim to the pestilence then raging, soon after his arrival at Rome, was taken advantage of by the pope to set over the Anglo-Saxon bishops a primate devoted to his views." Lappenberg's *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, i. 172.

² *At this time the noblest kings of the English, Oswiu of the province of the Northanhymbrians, and Egbert of the Cantuarians, having taken counsel together, as to what was to be done about the state of the church of the English (for Oswiu had really understood, although educated by the Scots, that the Roman was a catholic and apostolical church), took, with the election and consent of the holy church of the nation of the English, a good man, and a presbyter fit for the episcopate, by name Wighard, from the clergy of Bishop Deusdedit, and sent him to Rome to be ordained as bishop, in order that he, having received the grade of archbishopric, might himself ordain catholic bishops for the churches of the English through all Britain.* (Bede, iii. 29. p. 236.) Thus the kings of Northumbria and Kent consulted upon the mode of terminating an embarrassing state of religious dissension, and procured from a body, or bodies of clergy and laity, constitutionally assembled, the nomination of Wighard to the see of Canterbury, evidently with an understanding that he was to be primate of the island, and hence to exercise an authority over all parts of it. Oswy's early prejudices were all against Rome, but they had been undermined by his wife, and were now shaken by the difficulty of governing two religious parties violently at variance with each other. A mind like his could not fail of seeing the Roman party already so successful that its eventual ascendancy was certain.

were regularly consulted upon episcopal vacancies¹; and the sending of him whom they now chose to Rome, was obviously suggested by the religious dissensions that prevailed in England. The see of Canterbury had been some time vacant, and it became important to fill it in some way that seemed likely to still the voice of controversy.² Wighard was not merely furnished with credentials, he took also with him very handsome presents for the pope.³ He lived, we learn from Bede, quite long enough to *explain the cause of his journey*; in other words, to make the papal court fully aware of the anxiety that prevailed in the more influential English circles, for a final settlement of the questions which had caused so many heart-burnings. Hence Vitalian might reasonably calculate upon the success of some bold stroke of policy, if it were only guided by an eye to real utility. In this way, accordingly, do ancient authorities speak of the pope's act. They do not, of course, trace it, as the *Anglo-Saxon Church* does, to *Italian subtlety*.

As, therefore, every body knew the Roman see to be of apostolic origin, and Oswy gave it credit for maintaining only those things which were maintained by the church generally, he was anxious to use its intervention under the difficulties that caused him so much uneasiness. It is, however, too much to suppose that he should have been such a thorough proselyte as to beg the pope to send somebody else in case Wighard should die abroad, or that he should have had so little national feeling as to make this request, or that he should have forgotten the constitutional approbation which had been given to Wighard, and was indispensable in every case.

¹ It rather seems that the crown nominated, and that legislative or diocesan assemblies confirmed. See the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 261. *Bampton Lectures* for 1830, 177.

² Bede says *the bishopric being unsupplied no small time*. (iv. 1. p. 242.) The vacancy appears to have continued about three years. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 93.

³ *Presents being sent with him (Wighard) for the apostolical pope, and gold and silver vessels not a few*. Bede, iv. 1. p. 243.

They lived after the papacy had made most important strides, and felt more or less interested in its greatness. But they say not a word of any request to Vitalian, contingent upon Wighard's death.¹ Im-

¹ Florence of Worcester, though copying Bede pretty closely, varies from him so much as to say nothing about Wighard's election, but makes him sent to Rome *with the consent of the holy church of the nation of the English*. He says nothing of the cause that moved Vitalian to choose Theodore, but merely gives the date of his consecration. (Francof. 1601, p. 562.) Malmesbury merely speaks of Theodore as *sent by the apostolical see*. (De Pontiff. Script. post Bed. iii.) Huntingdon says, *Pope Vitalian, being consulted about the state of the church and Easter, sent a letter to Oswi and Egbert, the noblest kings of the English. Nor long after did he send them Archbishop Theodore*. (Ib. 191.) Brompton merely says, *after the see had been vacant three years, Theodore is ordained at Rome for archbishop of Canterbury*. (x. Script. 740.) Gervase of Canterbury closely follows Bede, and speaks of Theodore's consecration at Rome, without a word as to the cause that moved Vitalian. (Ib. 1637.) Thorn merely says that *blessed Theodore was sent by pope Vitalian*. (Ib. 1769.) The Peterborough Chronicle says (A. D. 667), *Wiard was chosen for archbishop of Canterbury, who, being sent to Rome to be consecrated, died there; and my lord pope ordaining for archbishop, Theodore, a monk, famous for morals and knowledge, sends him into England with Abbot Adrian*. (Lond. 1845, p. 2.) Mabillon says, *But Vitalian, lest, Wighard being dead, the English church, being deprived of a pastor, should suffer loss, counsel being taken, chose one of his own friends to send in his place*. (Annal. Bened. i. 477.) This is the true reason, or at least the one that was publicly assigned, as it will appear, and not any letter from England requesting the pope to choose, in case Wighard should die. Jocelin accordingly, or whoever else compiled the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, under Archbishop Parker's direction, says nothing of this supposed letter, but refers Theodore's appointment to a deliberation of Vitalian with those about him, on Wighard's death, of which, it is said, an account was sent by the pope to Oswy. (p. 79.) Godwin says, that *when the pope understood the see to have been long vacant, and he was anxious about setting over it a fit pastor*, he first chose Adrian, and on his refusal Theodore. (p. 41.) Lastly Inett says that Wighard's death "furnished Vitalian, bishop of Rome, with a very advantageous and desirable opportunity to bring about that which his predecessors and the missionaries from Rome had, for above three-score years, been labouring for in vain." (*Origines Anglicanæ*, i. 73.) Thus it seems that *modern writers* are not alone chargeable with viewing Vitalian's act as unauthorised. Inett is no modern. It is true that he afterwards says, "having now commission from the greatest of the Saxon princes to send them an archbishop consecrated at Rome, Vitalian presently casts

partial readers may think that modern books would conspire in keeping a similar silence, if Vitalian's appointment had not been represented as one of those spirited pieces of dexterity which account in a very homely way for the enormous weight eventually gained by papal Rome, and which, to the dismay of her partisans, furnish ample matter for authentic history. The French have a proverbial saying, *Ce n'est que la vérité qui blesse*. This may confirm a Protestant in considering Vitalian's nomination of Theodore as the skilful improvement of an unexpected opening.

The object of Wighard's journey to Rome is thus stated by Bede. His sovereign, Egbert, king of Kent, sent him thither *to be ordained bishop, in order that, having a prelate of his own nation and tongue, he, with his subjects, might be more perfectly imbued with the words and mysteries of our faith, inasmuch as these things would be received, not through an interpreter, but by the tongue and hand as well, of a kinsman and tribe-fellow*.¹ As this account is taken from Bede's life of Benedict Biscop, who was actually at Rome during

about to find a man fit to be trusted with the interests of the see of Rome." (*Ib.*) But it is plain that nothing like a letter offering any contingent nomination was here in Inett's head. His words, to be reconciled with those that he had used before, will only bear to be construed as expressing a conviction, that Vitalian eagerly made use of an opportunity which had unexpectedly fallen into his hands. Collier too says, "Vitalian, upon this accident (Wighard's death) thought it proper to provide an archbishop for the English church." (*Eccl. Hist.* i. 100.) Thus, in fact, it is the supposed letter, offering a contingent nomination to the pope, that the world owes to *modern writers*. No such thing appears to have entered into any body's head until quite lately.

¹ "Cupiens cum sibi Romæ ordinari episcopum, quatinus suæ gentis et linguæ habens antistitem, tanto perfectius cum subjectis sibi populis, vel verbis imbueretur fidei, vel mysteriis, quanto hæc non per interpretem, sed per cognati et contribulis viri linguam simul manumque susceperet. Bed. *Vita S. Bened. Opp. Min.* Lond. 1841, p. 141.

the very transactions recorded, and of whom the venerable biographer had, in all probability, authentic particulars, it is worthy of implicit reliance. But it tells a tale not very useful in Romish argumentation. Wighard, it seems, went to Rome much for the same purpose as a modern artist does. Painting and sculpture may be learnt in London, and with helps derived from Rome. But learners, nevertheless, go to Rome if they can, and find their account in it. So in England, during the strife of parties about Romish and native religious usages, the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Wighard was appointed to succeed, might appear to have been impeded in gaining popularity for the foreign system, because he could only enforce it by information gained at second hand. He is generally known as *Deusdedit*, but his original name was *Frithona*, and his birth was Anglo-Saxon. The disadvantages under which he had laboured, or perhaps, more correctly, the objections taken to him, were now to be removed by giving his successor a recommendation which one who never had been abroad could not possess. The new archbishop was not to depend upon others for information as to opinions and usages approved in Rome. He was to go thither himself, not because his countrymen thought papal authority to be required for any Anglo-Saxon purpose, but in order that he might come home under the combined advantages of domestic birth and foreign instruction. The same unexceptionable authority that has given us this piece of information, also assigns a very plausible ground for Vitalian's nomination of Theodore. This may reasonably be considered as

then current in Rome, and it is, *lest a religious embassy should fail of serving the faithful effectively from the deaths of those who brought it.*¹ Thus Benedict Biscop does not seem to have heard of any letter giving a contingent nomination to the pope, such as we are now told was undoubtedly written. He might, indeed, have found it no easy matter to reconcile such a communication with his knowledge of England, and of the objects that had brought Wighard to Rome. He knew that prelate to be more than the mere nominee of two sovereigns. Their nomination had been constitutionally approved in some assembly or assemblies of their subjects, according to the regular practice in such cases. If any body had talked of a letter proposing to set these established formalities uncere- moniously aside, what would Biscop have thought of the party's information? He was well aware, how- ever, of the desire that prevailed in England for a final close to religious dissension, and hence could foresee the disappointment which Wighard's death would occasion at home. Hence he could scarcely fail of looking at Vitalian's act as the best which cir- cumstances allowed. Still his countrymen might not be pleased with it. They were not to have an arch- bishop who combined the advantage of Anglo-Saxon birth with that of Roman knowledge, personally gained. Hence the pope must have been under some doubt as to eventual success, and must have been anxious to gain time for negotiation to carry his

¹ "Ne legatariis obeuntibus, legatio religiosa fidelium fructu compe- tente careret. Bed. *Vita S. Bened. Opp. Min.* Lond. 1841, p. 141.

objects. The fact, accordingly, is, that Theodore did not reach England until more than twelve months after his consecration.¹ The Romish mode of accounting for this delay requires attention.

It may however, previously, be well to remark farther upon the assertion, or opinion, that the two kings requested Vitalian "to choose a bishop for them in the case of Wighard's death."² This view is based upon the following passages in Bede. While Theodore, then on his way to England, was staying with Agilbert, bishop of Paris, *messengers to be depended upon told king Egbert that the bishop whom they had sought from the Roman prelate was in the kingdom of the Franks.*³ On this, Egbert sent an officer of his to bring Theodore over. This is the strongest testimony adduced in favour of the supposed request to Vitalian. But it is obviously not conclusive. There is no doubt that advices had been sent to England, before this time, of Theodore's consecration, and that it had been determined to admit him. That he should have been the identical person whom the Anglo-Saxon authorities had *asked* or *sought*, is impossible. When nominated by the pope, they did not know of his existence. He could only have been the *sort* of person desired; and Bede's words, therefore, can mean no more. That such is really their import, appears pretty clearly from the next passage cited in favour

¹ He was consecrated in March, 668, and reached England in May, 669.

² Lingard, i. 75. note.

³ "Cum nuncii certi narrassent regi Egbercto, esse scilicet episcopum, quem petierant a Romano antistite, in regno Francorum." *H. E.* iv. 1. p. 245.

of the supposed request to Vitalian. That pope, after ordaining Theodore, desired Benedict Biscop, then at Rome on a pilgrimage, to attend him into England, representing that he could do no act more thoroughly religious than return into his own country, and *lead to it a teacher of the truth whom it had anxiously looked for*.¹ This might seem susceptible of no other meaning than that Theodore was the *sort of teacher* that England felt herself in need of. The third authority cited for the Romish hypothesis is from Vitalian's own letter to the two kings. This says, *I could not find now a man fit for teaching, and for making an accomplished prelate in all respects, according to the tenor of your letter*.² A reason is given for this, namely, *from the length of the journey*.³ This is understood to mean, that Vitalian had the proper sort of person in his eye, but that he was too far off. It may, however, mean, that *England is too far off*. Wighard had come with a particular sort of recommendation. He was thought by his countrymen a very fit person for the see of Canterbury, and in want of nothing for the complete restoration of religious peace but a short personal intercourse with the best informed society at Rome. Why should not Vitalian mean, *To find exactly such another, I must send to England, which would consume*

¹ "Præcepitque ut, relicta peregrinatione, quam pro Christo susceperat, commodi altioris intuitu patriam reversus, doctorem ei veritatis, quem sedula quæsierat, adduceret." Bed. Vita S. Bened. *Opp. Min.* 142.

² "Hominem docibilem, et in omnibus ornatum antistitem, secundum vestrorum scriptorum tenorem, minime valuimus nunc reperire pro longinquitate itineris." *H. E.* iii. 29. p. 238.

³ "For the person to whom I have sent resides at some distance." Churton's *Early Church*, 67. note.

a great deal of time, that can very ill be spared. I have, therefore, selected an individual, every way fit for your purposes, as you detail them, except on the score of birth among you, and of consequent acquaintance with your language; but quite able, as I think, to get over these disadvantages. If letters are to be supposed in this case, why should not these words express the *tenor* of that written by the two kings to Vitalian? A Romanist may think the term *tenor*, certain evidence of a request from the Anglo-Saxon princes, that some other fit person should be found by the pope, in case of Wighard's death.¹ A Protestant will naturally be

¹ "That such was their request" (that of the kings) is certain. Beda calls Theodore, who was selected by Vitalian, *the archbishop asked for by the kings (episcopum quem petierant a Romano pontifice)*, and the bishop whom the country had anxiously sought (*doctorem veritatis quem patria sedula quæsierat*). Vitalian, in his answer to the two kings, reminds them that their letter requested him to choose a bishop for them, in the case of Wighard's death, *secundum vestrorum scriptorum tenorem*. Certainly these passages must have escaped the eye of Mr. Soames, who boldly, and without an atom of authority for his statement, ascribes the choice of a bishop by Vitalian to Italian subtlety. *The death of Wighard*, he tells us, *was not lost on Italian subtlety. For Vitalian, then pope, determined upon trying whether the Anglo-Saxons would receive an archbishop nominated by himself.*" (Lingard, i. 75. note.) Of these three authorities, it may be farther observed, that the first, which contains the word *petierant*, is the only one that wears any thing like an appearance of conclusiveness. This, however, is not from Benedict Biscop's biography as the second is, or from an authentic letter as the third is; it comes from Bede's history, and relates to a period when any difficulties as to Theodore's reception, if there ever were such, must have ceased. Theodore was then at Paris, and Egbert, king of Kent, being apprised of this, sent Redfrid, his prefect, to bring him over. Of course, therefore, he was considered *the sort* of person that the two kings had sought from the pope. He could not be the *actual* person. Hence the *boldness* charged upon the author of the *Anglo-Saxon Church* is necessary to all writers of history, and can be fixed upon every one of them. Instead of being *without an atom of authority*, there is reason for considering it abundantly authorised; but of that the citations now given will enable all readers to judge. As for the second passage, that taken from Biscop's life, it should be said, for the information of any

struck with the improbability of supposing that any such contingency as his death was contemplated when he set out from England; and, likewise, that any thought could be entertained of blindly receiving somebody else without reference to those regular national authorities which had approved Wighard. Nor, again, does it appear probable, if Theodore had been appointed in consequence of a contingent request to the pope, that an English visitor at Rome should have heard nothing about it. Now this, as has been already shown, might seem to be the case with Benedict Biscop, whose biography says nothing of this imaginary request, but puts Vitalian's act solely upon a desire to prevent an unforeseen accident from rendering a well-meant errand fruitless. It was, undoubtedly, a great point gained by the papal see, that a mere nominee of its own should have been accepted in England; but it would have been still more in its favour, if it could plead express and sufficient authority sent over from that country for such a nomination.

The pope's nomination, besides, wears no appearance of being, what is called, an independent one. It

reader who may not understand Latin, that in that language there are no articles; hence, in translating it, whether *the* or *a* is to be used, must depend upon the context. Now Dr. Lingard has translated *doctorem* with *the*, it may be translated with *a*. This is not, however, very material, because Theodore, a person never heard of in England, could not be the *actual* person desired there; he could only be the *sort* of person; but in verbal disputes nothing can go unnoticed. Mabillon seems to have understood this passage; as in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, he paraphrases it *a teacher of the truth so much desired* ("Doctorem veritatis tantopere expetitur"). (*Annals. Bened.* i. 494. 1.) Concerning the amplification of *tenorem* (*tenor*) into a contingent request, enough has been already said.

was not an Italian like Augustine, that was chosen, or any other person inseparably mixed up with Rome. On the contrary, Vitalian acted just as a man generally does when he is anxious to avoid any appearance of selfish views. He first selected Adrian, an African connected with the Greeks.¹ When that individual refused, and recommended Theodore, the pope took his recommendation, although Theodore was a member of the eastern church, and had not adopted even the Roman tonsure, but wore little or no hair upon his head, according to the fashion of the eastern monks and clergy.² The tonsure, however, was one of the formalities upon which the native and Italian parties had lately been at strife in Britain. The peacemaker, therefore, could scarcely appear with his grecianised head, and Theodore seems to have been above the folly of erecting such trifles into insurmountable difficulties. He allowed his hair, accordingly, to grow, and was then duly tonsured in the Roman fashion. In this growth, four months were consumed. Still the pope was not completely at his ease. He could not, evidently, divest himself of doubts upon the wisdom of entrusting Rome's rising influence in England to one so thoroughly oriental.

¹ *But Ebroin detained Hadrian some time, as a man given up to the emperor of the Greeks, and on that account suspicious, because he might be carrying mandates from the emperor against the kingdom of the Franks to the kings of Britain.* Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* i. 494.

² It appears from the *Theoria* of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, in the eighth century, that the Greek monks wore their heads shaven, alleging for the fashion the example of St. James, our Lord's brother, of St. Paul, and of others. Ratramn says the same of the Greek clergy, who wore, however, the beard. See the citations in the *Acta SS. Bened.* sec. ii. p. 287. note.

Adrian's appointment might have been unexceptionable, because he was thought one of the Greek emperor's dependents, and hence was likely to disarm Anglo-Saxon suspicion, while his religious habits appear to have been perfectly Roman. But Theodore had not hitherto shown himself so tractable. He lived at Rome, but would not give up the appearance of a Greek, until actually won over to accept an appointment from the pope. He might still display some of those prepossessions which had attended him from youth to senility, and thus might disappoint Roman expectations, when once firmly established in his new preferment. Hence his friend Adrian received not only instructions from the pope to accompany him into Britain, but also to watch his proceedings there, lest he should introduce Grecian usages into the church of England.¹ All these things look very little like the act of a man who merely did what was requested of him, and what consequently he felt sure of carrying through, without opposition.

Another circumstance to confirm this view is the long delay that intervened between Theodore's consecration and his arrival in England. For this various reasons are given; some political, others from the seasons, and an attack of illness. These hindrances indisputably arose, and would have caused a delay where none was likely to be desired, which, probably, was not the case in this instance. Theodore, Adrian, and Benedict Biscop sailed for Marseilles about the end of May, 668. On reaching that port, they went

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 85.

on to Arles by land¹, and presented a letter from the pope to John, bishop of that city. He would not allow them to leave it, until they had received permission from Ebroin, then mayor of the palace. From him license to proceed was given to the party after some unspecified interval.² But still Adrian continued an object of suspicion. He had been twice in Gaul before, and whatever may be the reason, Ebroin thought him now likely to have come on some political errand from the Greek emperor to the Anglo-Saxon princes. He was, accordingly, detained in Gaul, some months after his friends had actually crossed over into England. They did not arrive there until the end of May, 669, which was something later than they once had reason to expect, Theodore having been seized with illness, when waiting on the

¹ *Per terram.* (Bed. *H. E.* iv. 1. p. 244.) Mabillon considers this journey to have been made on foot (*pedibus Arelate accedunt*). But Bede may merely mean to signify, that instead of going from Marseilles to Arles by water, as the travellers might, they went by land across the country. As the Rhone is a very rapid river, and Arles must be reached against the stream, a land journey was, probably, thought more advisable than one by water.

² *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* says, "Before winter they obtained permission to leave the roof of the apostolic vicar, and to separate, that they might not, accompanied by a numerous retinue, prove too great a burthen to those whose hospitality they solicited." (Lingard, i. 77.) For this the authority assigned are Bede's words, which, after detailing where they were severally located for the winter, proceed, *for winter, being at hand, had forced them to stay quiet wherever they could.* (*H. E.* 245.) This, however, lets us know nothing of the time when the party had permission to leave Arles. Of course, it was *before winter*; the question is, how much before? Arles was the metropolis of Gaul for civil purposes, and her church was said to have been founded by Trophimus, the disciple of St. Paul. It was not however, on this account, that the Roman bishops made the bishop of Arles their agent or vicar in Gaul, but because Arles was the centre of political authority in the country. De Marca, *Opp.* Bamberg, 1788, ii. 539. 543.

French coast ready for embarkation. He did not land in England until fourteen months after his consecration. As he had spent nearly a year of this time in Gaul, speculation has naturally been afloat as to the causes of so long a delay. His illness did not occur until he was on the point of embarkation for England. Impediments from winter could not have begun to operate before November, and he could scarcely have reached Arles later than the latter end of June. Upon the Romish hypothesis, therefore, he must have been detained four months, at least, by Ebroin. But Bede's language would not lead one to suspect a detention of such length from this cause. Indeed it seems to point out Adrian as the sole object of Ebroin's uneasiness.¹ Theodore's wintering with Agilbert, bishop of Paris, was on every account very desirable. Agilbert had been long in England, and

¹ *Who, when they had come together by sea to Marseilles, and then by land to Arles, and had delivered to John, archbishop of that city, the letter of recommendation from the pontiff Vitalian, they were detained by him until Ebrinus, mayor of the royal house, gave them leave to go where they should wish. This being received, Theodore went to Agilbert, bishop of Paris, about whom we have spoken above, and by him was kindly received, and kept a long while. Hadrian went to the bishops, first, Esmme of Sens, and afterwards Faro of Meaux, and was well off under them a long while; for winter being at hand had forced them to stay quiet wherever they could. But when sure messengers had told king Ecgbert that the bishop, to wit, whom they had sought from the Roman prelate, was in the kingdom of the Franks, he sent thither immediately Rædfrid, his prefect, to bring him over; whither, when he had come, he took with him Theodore, with the license of Ebrinus, and led him to a port, the name of which is Quentavic, where, being troubled by an indisposition, he staid some time, and when he had begun to grow better, he sailed for Britain. Hadrian, however, Ebrinus detained, since he suspected him to have some legation of the emperor to the kings of Britain, against the kingdom of which he then had himself the chief care. But when he had satisfactorily discovered that he never had any thing of the kind, he released him, and permitted him to go after Theodore. H. E. iv. 1. p. 245.*

must have had interest with some of the Anglo-Saxon princes. Theodore, therefore, could not only obtain from him a great deal of information that he would be sure to need, but likewise, if any negotiation for his reception were on foot, Agilbert's influence must have been found very useful for bringing it to a favourable issue. That such a negotiation really was on foot, most Protestant readers will readily believe. They are likely to think it necessary under the circumstances of the case, and to be the most obvious way of accounting for Theodore's delay in Gaul, during the summer and autumn. This view, undoubtedly, cannot be conclusively sustained by any express ancient authority. It lies, therefore, open to contemptuous dismissal as a *draught upon the imagination*.¹ But its mortifying position must be shared with numerous passages in all historical works, even the best. If driven to seek companions in misfortune, it has to look no farther than the very able modern Romish version of these identical transactions. This involves two *draughts upon the imagination*. It represents Theodore's appointment as made by Vitalian in conformity with a request from the Anglo-Saxon kings, that somebody else should be found at Rome for archbishop in case of Wighard's death. All this may pass with severe people for an example of the

¹ "I have entered into this detail (of the detention in Gaul) that the reader may notice the real cause of Theodore's long stay in France. Mr. Soames, shutting his eyes to the pages of Bêda, and drawing, as before, from his own imagination, hints that it was owing to prudential considerations; for, as former nominations to Anglo-Saxon sees had been domestic, some doubt would naturally arise as to his reception." Lingard, i. 77. note.

bill-system in literature. Unfortunately for those who would wish to see the bill honoured, nothing of the kind is likely. Benedict Biscop was upon the spot, and he seems, as the reader already knows, never to have heard a syllable of the supposed Anglo-Saxon application to Vitalian. On the contrary, his biographer expressly attributes the appointment of Theodore to Vitalian's wish, that a religious embassy should not be frustrated by an inopportune decease. Again: something is drawn upon which is not history, when we hear of a request from the two kings, that Wighard should be consecrated archbishop, in order that all England should be placed under the see of Canterbury.¹ In this case, Benedict Biscop comes forward once more to prevent payment. His life, it has been before shown, says that Wighard was sent to Rome, in order that information might be brought thence by an Englishman, whom, of course, all his countrymen could readily understand. If these hinderances to payment had been duly weighed, probably, two Romish draughts upon the imagination would never have been drawn; or, if drawn, would have only travelled from the study table to the fire-place.

¹ "Wighard proceeded to Rome for consecration, carrying with him presents from the two kings, and a letter of request, if we may judge from the result, that all the bishops of the Anglo-Saxons might be placed under the authority of the successor of St. Augustine." (Lingard, i. 75.) To judge of intentions by results is evidently an unsafe principle, and in this case the inference is inconsistent with Biscop's biography.

CHAPTER IV.

CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION.

Theodore's Penitential. — Evils of the Romish Confessional. — Its deficiency in ancient authority. — Appeals to Theodore. — Contrition alone anciently considered sufficient. — Origin of the Romish system. — Rise of its modern form. — Scholastic treatment of it. — Theological objections to it. — Attrition. — Popularity of this doctrine. — General view of the question.

THEODORE'S name is not merely connected with a controversy upon Anglo-Saxon concessions to the papacy. It also comes forward in a system which deeply involves the morality and happiness of mankind. His reputation long stood very much upon his *Penitential*, the first book of the kind that appeared in the West, and placed by many generations among the best of authorities upon the subjects which it handles.¹ Upon his doctrine rose that of modern Rome as to confession, satisfaction, and absolution. Still the two doctrines are not identical. Nor is there any absolute necessity for the progress of one into the other. Theodore's object is to provide a proportionate penance for every shade of sin. Modern Romanists make men easy under sin by letting them trust in a half-authorised principle,

¹ *Of all the Penitentials that existed in the West, it is (Theodore's) the most ancient and celebrated.* Preface to Petit's edition of it, Lut. Par. 1677.

technically known as *attrition*.¹ When Romish divines encounter this word in ordinary or unfriendly quarters, they begin immediately to feel sore. Hence Theodore's obvious ignorance of the principle which it designates, could not be pointed out without giving offence. This is, however, one of the questions which require men to disregard offence.² A belief in sacer-

¹ The term *attrition* became common among the schoolmen after the year 1220. The principle of it is defined to be a *servile fear*, or such a desire to obey, as a slave has who thinks of the lash. Aquinas, accordingly, says, *Attrition, in spiritual matters, signifies a certain dislike of sins committed; contrition a perfect dislike*. (See the original passages in the Author's *Bampton Lectures* for 1830.) It is obvious that outward formalities of penitence gone through at the approach of death, or in the course of life, merely from a consciousness that spiritual safety has been endangered, can be no principle to renovate mankind. The bulk of men, who hate any effective care of their salvation, would be much confirmed in their irreligious habits, by a notion that some ceremonies, at the edge of the grave, will make every thing safe. Protestants who have, or ought to have, no encouragement in such a notion, are not easily kept out of it. But, clearly, all such formalities might be duly acquiesced in, without any of that inward change which Scripture makes essential for the soul's admittance above. The *attrite* sinner who confessed, and so forth, merely because he thought his hour of life expired, and that of reckoning come, would be likely to relapse into his old habits, if it should prove that years on earth yet lay before him. But much worse is the case of those who habitually go through these penitential forms. It is impossible that gross, ignorant, vicious Romanists should not be liable to the censure often jocularly laid upon them by Protestants—they *rub off, as they go on*. One may sometimes hear the lower and stupider Protestants themselves utter an oath, and then say *God forgive me*, as if they thought such an *attrite* acknowledgment a full acquittance. A formal confession, therefore, and a regular assignment of penance, must necessarily have a very bad effect in deadening the sense of moral responsibility. The early French missionaries in Canada relate an instance which shows the operation of this principle upon the keen observation of an Indian. He wished to persuade one of his own people, who had turned Christian, to join him in some pagan holiday; and when the convert refused, on the ground of religion, the other said, why, if you do something that you think amiss to-day, the black gowns will clear you to-morrow. Dallæus, *De Sacram. vel Aurical. Conf.* Genev. 1661, p. 186.

² "To these passages" (from some anonymous Anglo-Saxon *Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical*, edited by Mr. Thorpe, in the

dotal power to procure acceptance above for those who merely feel a servile fear of divine wrath, and

Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ii. 330.; and from some Saxon *Homilies*, printed by Whelock, as illustrations to his Bede, 341. 343. 423.), "I might have added many more of similar import; but they are sufficient to show with how little reason Whelock maintained, that, in the Anglo-Saxon as in the Protestant church of England, confession was advised only, and not commanded. Mr. Soames is delighted to find in an old manuscript (*Vesp. D. 15. f. 100.*), and in Petir's *Capitula collecta ex Fragmentis* (tom. i. p. 47.) that, according to Theodore, in case of necessity, a man may make his confession to God alone, *Confessionem suam Deo soli, si necesse est, licebit facere* (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 287.); and in his history is highly amused at the embarrassment which this passage has afforded to Romanism. (*Hist.* p. 87.) It is, however, difficult to understand the cause of this exultation, for the doctrine of Theodore then, is the doctrine of Catholic divines yet; that, in cases of necessity, confession to God alone is sufficient." (*Lingard*, i. 332. note.) The first passage referred to is thus translated by Mr. Thorpe, God "will be merciful to him who turns from sins, if he, with inward heart's repentance, turn to penance, and earnestly amend what he did unrighteously. The medicine of a sinful man is that he confess, and earnestly atone, and ever cease from sin." To this doctrine Protestants can make no objection; but, as it will appear, a very different doctrine is maintained by the modern church of Rome. The passages referred to in Whelock are these, "*Often Holy Scripture teacheth us that we flee to the medicine of a true confession of our sins; not that God needs our confession, for all to him is known that we do, and say, and even think, but because else we cannot be whole unless we confess sorrowing that which we have done unrighteously through carelessness. He that accuseth himself to his confessor, the devil cannot accuse him at the day of judgment.*" (341.) Then follow citations from Scripture, namely, *St. James*, v. 16., *Rom. x. 10.*, *Prov. xxviii. 13.*, *1 St. John*, i. 9., *Psal. xxxii. 5.*; but the text, *St. John*, xx. 23, upon which Romanists chiefly found their notion of the keys, and which they chiefly cite in favour of their penitential doctrines, is not cited here. All the texts cited will, in fact, apply to confession to God, except *St. James*, v. 16., and this is, not, *confess your faults or sins* to a priest, but *to one another*." In p. 343. the strongest passage in favour of Romish views is, *How can the physician heal the wounds which the sick man is ashamed of showing to him?* Soon afterwards the following texts are cited, *St. Matt. iii. 2.*, *Eccles. xxi. 1.*, *Isa. i. 16.*, *2 St. Peter*, ii. 22. The first of these has been applied arbitrarily to sacramental confession; the others have not even the semblance of a bearing upon it. In p. 423. is found *Truly no man gets forgiveness of his sins from God unless he confess to some one of God's men, and do satisfaction by his judgment*. This passage is the only one referred to that makes at all effectively for Romish purposes; but it stands connected with various texts of Scripture, which have no such effect. A

would have a clergyman's acts excuse their own amendment, is one of those things that require to be plucked up by the roots. Human society will never

discerning person, therefore, might hear these homilies, and collect from them that there was no divine command to confess except to God himself. Whelock, consequently, was justified, as might be expected of a learned man who printed passages and not references, in representing auricular confession as more properly advised than commanded. He does not restrict, however, this representation to the *Anglo-Saxon Church of England*. He says, *Confession of this kind to be made before a priest, before the year of Christ 1200, the church held free, but then Innocent III. would have it compulsory.* (p. 215.) Aquinas will justify this. That great schoolman and reputed saint says, *We are bound to confession two ways: one way by divine right, from this very thing that it is a medicine, and according to this all are not held to confession, but those only who run into mortal sin after baptism: another way from a precept of positive law, and so all are held by the institution of the church issued in a general council under Innocent III.* (Suppl. part iii. p. 9. S. Thom. Aqu. *Summa Col. Agr.* 1622.) Whelock, therefore, did not talk at random, when he referred compulsion, in the case of confession, to Innocent's famous canon. This will appear more fully in the end, when the reader will be better able to judge how far the writer may be excusable for the *delight, amusement, and exultation* attributed to him. He begs leave to add, that the offence given by him is from the mention of *attrition* in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, and a sermon on that express subject in the *Bampton Lectures*. It may be observed, that this scholastic term, which is a key to the whole matter, is left out of the censure passed upon him. As for the identity of Theodore's admission with "the doctrine of Catholic divines yet," it cannot be established until Theodore shall be shown to have insisted upon the necessity of a *wish* to confess where the power of doing so is wanting. This is, however, asserted by a no less authority than the Council of Trent. That body took upon itself to say of complete contrition, that *although it reconciles man to God before this sacrament (of penance) is actually received, yet, nevertheless, that the reconciliation itself is not to be ascribed to the contrition itself without the wish of the sacrament, which is included in it.* (Labb. et Coss. xiv. 817.) There may be something evasive in the term *ascribed*, but there can be nothing of the kind in the assertion that a wish for these Romish formalities is *included* in contrition: *sine sacramenti voto quod in illa includitur*. The Roman correctors accordingly, under Gregory XIII., in dealing with some of the unmanageable testimonies against their alleged sacrament of penance, tell us, "Nay, it is most true, that without confession, in desire at least, the sin is not forgiven." (Ussher's *Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge*, Camb. 1835, p. 97.) Something, therefore, is to be done beyond a bare assertion, before the divinity of Theodore's days can be made to square with that of so-called *Catholic divines yet*.

substantially improve, until that notion is driven quite out of ordinary sight into the neglected corners of libraries. If a Romish populace be worse, as many people say it is, than a Protestant populace, nothing is more likely to cause this greater depravity than an habitual reliance upon sacerdotal claims to temper or disarm heavenly vengeance against sin. From this dependence of one sinner upon another, well-conducted, well-informed persons may receive little or no harm. But practical religion is most wanted for the thoughtless, ignorant, busy, corrupt, sensual, impetuous, procrastinating, needy mass of men. These are the elements with which religious teachers chiefly have to deal, and no doctrine is less fit for improving them, than one which flatters evanescent fears with hopes of escape from serious liabilities.

Those who deeply feel this, will not be sorry for any opening that may turn serious minds to the real nature of modern Romish penitential discipline, and the authority which it has to plead. Its utter failure as a moral instrument is undeniable.¹ Suppose the

¹ Duppa says, that during the reign of Pius VI. a period of twenty-two years, "not less than eighteen thousand persons were murdered in public and private quarrels, in the ecclesiastical state alone, according to the bills of mortality in the governor's office." (*Brief Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government*, Lond. 1799, p. 87.) Mrs. Trollope, too, was shocked by a gang of convict murderers in Rome. (*Italy*, ii. 290.) And the parts of Ireland where the populace is almost entirely Romish, are disgraced, impoverished, and barbarised by a succession of atrocious and cowardly assassinations. Common and accredited report also taxes Romanists of some station abroad with a degree of licentiousness that is unknown among Protestants of similar condition. Influenced, perhaps, partly by a mournful consciousness of this greater depravity, and partly by weariness of a theatrical worship, an Italian lady said to an English one of the writer's acquaintance, "*You have a religion, we have none.*"

headlong, vicious crowd in Romish countries to be no worse than in Protestant, it is unquestionably no better. The Roman Church, therefore, has at least provided an embarrassing, delusive, unauthorised engine for domineering over, polluting, and insulting mankind, without any compensatory benefit. A confessor's office, besides, is completely fit for no man. For most men it is most unfit. Youth, vanity, inexperience, prurience of curiosity, or of animal appetite, ignorance, grossness, officiousness, lust of power or of meddling, are total disqualifications for the confessional chair. There are very few, however, perhaps none, who are not disqualified upon one, or more, of these accounts. The moral nudity, too, which the confessional invites, or exacts, from females of every age and condition, is but little suitable for the eyes even of discreet, elderly, and grave men. For most men, the exposure is most shameful. It must often elicit senseless, disgusting, and ludicrous relations, defiling both speaker and hearer. Such disclosures, likewise, involve a palpable breach of conjugal confidence in married women. If people thus laid bare all that was done, and said, and thought amiss, before confessors of their own sex, more harm would be done than good. But when females of all ages make these disclosures to men of all ages, and single men too, much of the evil that is popularly charged upon confession must necessarily flow from it. So long as mankind remains impure, impurity will very seldom be detailed or listened to without either communicating or confirming a taint both to the giver and the receiver. As the grossness, therefore, of older

times wears away, and knowledge extends its empire over the public mind, sacramental penance, or rather sacramental confession, for the whole thing is little else, must be gradually undermined. Fathers will know better than to suffer the expanding mental energies of their children to be debauched, from seven years old, by needless revelations to a stranger who calls himself a spiritual father, but who really is no father at all, and has not the genuine feelings of one. Men will think, that females who desire to whisper secrets into the ears of other men, can be no fit wives for them. Any serious and attentive mind can clearly see that the Bible makes every body responsible, but that Romish confessionals make nobody responsible. The penances, and other formalities, prescribed by confessors, really shift off responsibility. If some irksome thing that has been enjoined be left unperformed, it only serves for an ingredient in the next confession; and if such neglects go through life, they merely run up a longer score for purgatory. This prospect, indeed, may seem alarming, and it is often felt so, but a little inquiry soon places purgatorial questions among the visionary departments in theology. Scripture throws no light upon them, and even the Council of Trent can find nothing better in support of them than vague and bare assertions. But let purgatorial evils be ever so real and intolerable, the same authority that inculcates the dread of them, offers to lessen them by means of masses, which money can command. Thus the Romish sacrament of penance as habitually administered, obviously tends to lower that sense of responsibility, which is the

most effective check to the corruption of human nature. Any opportunity, therefore, for calling attention to its baneful operation, and glaring want even of Romish authority, is gladly to be received by all who would fain see men better than they are. Nor is it among the least striking indications of a cause radically weak, that a Romanist of high talent can approach unfriendly observation on his church's penitential attitude with supercilious pleasantry, and an evident wish to keep the real point at issue out of sight.

The great object with advocates of the Latin system is to show that confession was always used in the church. Upon the general use of it up to a very early period, and the exertions of clergymen to enforce it, there is no question. But these admissions will not serve the Romanism of Trent, unless it be shown that ancient confessions had the same end in view that modern ones have. Now this can hardly be the case, as may be seen at once from the manner in which confessional formalities now are concluded. Before a person leaves his confessor, he receives absolution from him, and this in the form called indicative. It is represented as a judicial act. The confessional chair is to pass for the seat of judgment, and the party who tenders a confession is to go away formally absolved. One might suppose that such a practice, in which one sinner professes to relieve another authoritatively from the eternal consequences of iniquity, must at least be of immemorial standing in the Christian Church. But such is not the fact. Morin, perhaps the most learned Romish writer upon his church's penitential doctrine,

says, *All the monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity that I have hitherto read, or heard of, testify that the ordinary form of absolution, or of the reconciling of penitents, was deprecatory, down to the year of grace 1200.*¹ Thus, until that comparatively late year, there were, in fact, no absolutions used at all, only releases from canonical penance, and prayers that penitent parties might be pardoned above. Aquinas, accordingly, who lived in the thirteenth century, says, this form, *I absolve thee, is not in common use.*² Hence he reasons, it is as little commanded by the church as it is by Scripture. It was, however, evidently by his mention of it, making its way, and no wonder that it gained in time full possession of the ground. The same presumptuous vanity that had put it into the heads of

¹ See the original passage in the *Bampton Lectures* for 1830, p. 293.

² "Videtur quod hæc non sit forma hujus sacramenti, *Ego te absolvo*. Formæ enim sacramentorum ex institutione Christi, et ecclesiæ usu habentur. Sed Christus non legitur hanc formam instituisse, neque etiam in communi usu habetur." (Tert. P. S. Thomæ, *Summa*, 196.) "Yea, in the days of Thomas Aquinas there arose a learned man among the Papists themselves, who found fault with that indicative form of absolution then used by the priests, *I absolve thee from all thy sins*, and would have it delivered by way of deprecation, alleging that this was not only the opinion of Gulielmus Altisiodorensis, Gulielmus Parisiensis, and Hugo Cardinalis, but also that thirty years were scarce passed since all did use this form only, *Absolutionem et remissionem tribuat tibi Omnipotens Deus* (*Almighty God give unto thee absolution and forgiveness*). What Thomas doth answer hereunto, may be seen in his little *Treatise on the Form of Absolution*, which upon this occasion he wrote unto the general of his order." (Ussher's *Answ. to a Jes. Chal.* 114.) The answer is a matter of little or no importance. All that we want is the evidence given, by such a man as Aquinas, to a stubborn fact, which is this, that in the thirteenth century somebody or other took it into his vain head to set a fashion of absolution, which, as might be expected from a thing so delightful both to priest and people, ran like wildfire, and has been followed by Romanists ever since. So much for the apostolical authority of this Romish anodyne.

some clergymen, and the same eagerness to lull their fears under a consciousness of sin, that had made people pleased with such language, would be certain, in the darker ages, to give it a growing popularity.

Its want of any solid claim to popularity follows conclusively from authorities anterior to the thirteenth century. One among the more important of them is that very Archbishop Theodore, whose doctrine is represented as completely Romish. But his name happens to be very much mixed up with a view that Romanists do not know how to manage. Readers of that communion may consider the slight notice of his confessional doctrine, taken in some recent Protestant works, as a thing that never could have entered into any man's head unless he was violently prejudiced against Romanism. But the truth is, that Gratian, the chief source of Romish canon law, which is the great authority for papal pretensions, made much the same use of Theodore's name in the twelfth century, that has been made on the anti-papal side in the nineteenth. He begins a very long treatise upon penitence by enquiring, *Whether, by contrition of heart alone, and secret satisfaction, any one can satisfy God?* Then he goes on, *there are some who say, that any pardon of sin may be obtained without confession to the church and sacerdotal judgment.*¹ Nor does it appear that the people who said so were of no account. On the contrary, the great canonist cites texts of Scrip-

¹ De Pœn. d. 1. "Utrum sola cordis contritione, et secreta satisfactione absque oris confessione, quisquam possit Deo satisfacere? Sunt enim qui dicunt, quemlibet criminis veniam sine confessione ecclesiæ, et sacerdotali iudicio posse promereri." Ap. Dall. *De Conf.* 554.

ture, and passages from the fathers, which they produced. Hence it is clear, that, in the twelfth century, divines of character expressed opinions adverse to the penitential doctrine which is now established in the Roman Church. Others agreed with it, and Gratian gives them a full hearing too. But he declines to act umpire, saying, *To which of the parties it is better to adhere, is reserved for the reader's judgment; for among the favourers of each side are wise and religious men.*¹ This language in such a book has naturally occasioned great commotion among Romish writers. Gratian has been taxed with having *no fixed opinion*, with *mistake and hallucination.*² But all such symptoms of annoyance are nothing to the purpose. Nobody cares whether Gratian ought to have known better about penance or not. It is quite enough to have his testimony, that, in the twelfth century, *wise and religious men* were found within the Church of Rome herself, who held Protestant and not Romish doctrine, upon a question of so much importance as penitence. Having given this testimony, Gratian proceeds, *whence Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, says, in his Penitential, some affirm that one ought to confess sins to God alone, as the Greeks; but some think that they ought to be confessed to the priests, as almost all the holy church: either of which things is not done without great fruit within the*

¹ "Ibid. c. 89. Quibus auctoritatibus, vel quibus rationum firmitatis utraque sententia satisfactionis et confessionis innitatur, in medium breviter exposuimus. Cui autem harum potius adhærendum sit lectoris judicio reservatur. Utraque enim fautores habet sapientes et religiosos viros." *Ib.*

² "Hæc Gratianus; quem Estius de hac re non habuisse firmatum sententiam; Gregorius Valentianus errasse, atque hallucinatum esse, dicunt." *Ib.*

*holy church.*¹ Thus Theodore and Gratian, between them, cut up the modern Romish penitential doctrine by the roots, showing its total want of traditional support. Bellarmine evidently felt this. He was commonly accused of doing almost as much harm as good in his controversial pieces, by quoting with a fulness and candour that let people see the force of Protestant objections, and know where to find more. But the awkward revelations of Theodore and Gratian were an overmatch for the learned cardinal's candour. He does not venture upon the setting down of such unmanageable testimony, but flies off to a pedling criticism upon the words, *as the Greeks*. These give him occasion to say, that no slight is passed upon sacerdotal confession by the Greeks, as appears by the little notice taken of it at the Council of Florence, where it merely formed matter for an unofficial conversation with the pope.² The Greeks came to Florence chiefly for Latin aid against the Turks, who then held them nearly at the last gasp, and they were

¹ "Gratianus hanc, ut dixi, questionem in medio relinquens, subjicit, *Unde Theodorus, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, ait in Pœnitentiali suo, quidam Deo solummodo confiteri debere peccata dicunt, ut Græci; quidam vero sacerdotibus confitenda esse percensent, ut tota fere sancta ecclesia; quod utrumque non sine magno fructu intra sanctam fit ecclesiam.*" Gratian, after going into various arguments from scripture, in favour of a divine obligation, attributed to sacramental confession, and acknowledging their weakness, rests the question upon tradition, and adds, *Among the Greeks confession is not necessary, because such a tradition has not flowed to them.* (Chemnit. *Exam. Conc. Trid.* Genev. 1614, ii. 179.) Chemnitz assigns this famous work of Gratian to 1150, or thereabouts.

² "Neque in concilio Florentino ulla fuit controversia de confessione cum Græcis, eo excepto, quod Eugenius pontifex a nonnullis Græcorum doctoribus privatim quæsit, cur sacerdotes ipsorum ante sacrificii celebrationem peccata sua non confiterentur." *Controv.* iii. 443.

consequently anxious to make as few objections to Latin divinity as possible. The words, however, Bellarmine says, which make Theodore give this testimony about the Greeks, are an interpolation. Some ignorant person or other attributed this view of confession to the Greeks, and, in consequence, wrote *ut Græci* in the margin of Theodore's paragraph, and somebody else, as is usual enough in such cases, transferred this marginal gloss into the text. The cardinal is quite sure that such is the fact, because Theodore took the canon from the Second Council of Chalon, which does not use the words *ut Græci*.¹ Unluckily for this ingenious hypothesis, Theodore died in 690, and the Council of Chalon did not sit until 813. The fathers, therefore, might have taken the canon from Theodore, and probably did, but he could not have taken it from them.² The words *ut Græci* are quite

¹ " Illud *ut Græci* videtur irrepsisse in textum ex margine, et marginalem annotationem imperiti alicujus fuisse, qui ex facto Nectarii collegit sublatam omnino confessionem sacramentalem apud Græcos. Nam alioqui in ipso Capitulari Theodori, unde canon ille descriptus est, non habentur duæ illæ voces *ut Græci*, neque etiam habentur in Concilio II. Cabilonensi, c. 33., unde Theodorus capitulum illud accepisse videtur." *Ib.*

² " The cardinal's conjecture of the translating of these words out of the margin into the text of Gratian is of little worth, seeing we find them expressly laid down in the elder collections of the decrees made by Burchardus and Ivo ; from whence it is evident that Gratian borrowed this whole chapter, as he hath done many a one beside. For as for the Capitular itself of Theodorus, whence the cardinal too boldly affirmeth *that canon was transcribed*, as if he had looked into the book itself, we are to know that no such Capitular of Theodorus is to be found ; only Burchardus and Ivo (in whom, as we said, those controverted words are extant) set down this whole chapter as taken out of Theodore's Penitential, and so misguided Gratian ; for, indeed, in Theodore's Penitential, which I did lately transcribe out of a most ancient copy kept in Sir Robert Cotton's treasury, no part of the chapter can be seen ; nor yet any thing else tending to the matter now in hand, this short sen-

likely to be his, because he was from the Levant himself, and hence must have often thought of the religious usages which had been before him in early life, and to many of which he long continued attached, as is evident by his retainment of the Greek tongue until he was upon the point of setting off for England. At the Council of Challon, probably, no one was present who thought any thing about the Greeks: hence, when the fathers there gave another hard knock to the doctrine that was eventually to spring up in the Church of Rome, they might consider it quite unnecessary to take any notice of the eastern Christians. Theodore himself, it should be borne in mind, had any thing rather than a disposition to disparage sacerdotal confession. From such a man, therefore, the testimony against modern Romish principles is doubly valuable. It is in vain to deny, that any such testimony has been given by him. Cardinal Bellarmine seems to have been sorely pressed by reasons for thinking otherwise; nor will any one wonder, until proof is given, that in Theodore's days, and in the ages immediately succeeding, divines insisted upon modern Romish views of sacramental penance, as indispensable for salvation. The difficulty, however, of proving this may soon be rendered plain enough.

Anxious as Alcuin was, for instance, to establish

tence only excepted, *Confessionem suam Deo soli, si necesse est licebit agere. It is lawful that confession be made unto God alone, if need require.* And to suppose, as the cardinal doth, that Theodorus should take this chapter out of the Second Council of Cavaillon, were an idle imagination, seeing it is well known that Theodore died archbishop of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 690, and the Council of Cavaillon was held in the year 813, that is, 123 years after the other's death." Ussher's *Answ. to a Jes. Chal.* 94.

the practice of confession, he does not go the length of pronouncing it absolutely necessary. He merely says, *If no one is without sin, who is he that does not want repentance, which without confession can scarcely be made fruitful.*¹ This is no positive judgment: it is no more than a strong recommendation, which, after all, leaves the matter open to opinion. It appears, accordingly, from Raban Maur, that confessions of secret sins were considered as optional, however desirable they might be thought. Now this, if the remission of iniquity were placed upon modern Romish grounds, could never have been intimated. The celebrated archbishop says, however, *Of those whose sins are secret, and by spontaneous confession have been revealed by them only to the presbyter, or bishop, the penance ought to be secret, according to the judgment of the presbyter or bishop to whom they have confessed, lest weak members in the church should be scandalised, seeing the penances of those whom they do not know at all to be in fault.*² People are told now, however, that confession is absolutely necessary, unless the services of a clergyman should be unattainable, and then that the party must have a *wish* to confess. Thus confession of secret faults, although still styled *spontaneous* by the Council of Trent, is really made

¹ "Si nullus est sine peccato, quis est, qui pœnitentia non indigeat, quæ sine confessione vix fructuosa fieri valet." Christ. ad Pueros. S. Mart. Opp. ii. 156.

² "Quorum ergo peccata occulta sunt, et spontanea confessione soli tantummodo presbytero, sive episcopo ab eis fuerint revelata, horum occulta debet esse pœnitentia, secundum judicium presbyteri, sive episcopi, cui confessi sunt: ne infirmi in ecclesia scandalizentur, videntes eorum pœnas quorum penitus ignorant causas." *De Institutione Clericorum*. Col. 1532. p. 92.

necessary.¹ But Ivo of Chartres, who died in 1115, wholly destroys this plea of necessity, by maintaining as Protestants now do, that internal contrition secures at once the pardon of sin; and he accounts for the exaction of penance, as Austin has previously done, before offenders were re-admitted to the communion, upon the principle, that men, who cannot see the hearts of each other, have no means of knowing an alteration for the better to have taken place, until they see a sinner humbled as a penitent.² This, again, is a plain denial of any spiritual necessity for the penitential forms of modern Romanism. It refers formalities of this kind merely to the necessity of satisfying the just expectations of a religious body. Peter Lombard also, the great fountain head of school divinity, and so long famed as *the Master of the Sentences*, though he will not admit such as refuse sacerdotal confession to be in a proper state of mind for obtaining mercy above, yet merely places clerical power in dealing with sin upon the footing of an

¹ De Sanctiss. Poenit. Sacram. can. 10. The term *spontaneous* is used in this canon to distinguish public scandals from secret sins. It is evident that the latter can only be known by the party's *spontaneous* disclosures, but if he is to believe that salvation depends upon such disclosures, they are much like revelations extorted by the rack.

² "Ivo, bishop of Chartres, writeth, that by inward contrition" (*per internum gemitum*), "the inward judge is satisfied, and therefore, without delay forgiveness of sin is granted by him unto whom the inward conversion is manifest; but the church, because it knoweth not the hidden things of the heart, doth not loose him that was bound, although he be raised up, until he be brought out of the tomb, that is to say, purged by public satisfaction." (*Ussher's Answ. to a Jes. Chal.* 147.) These words of Ivo's occur in his 228th epistle, which is an answer to a clergyman who wished to know the reason why, although a sinner's salvation is secured at once by contrition, yet synodical authority did not immediately admit him to the communion. It may be found in p. 398 of the Paris edition of Ivo's Epistles, 1610.

announcement. A minister of religion, he says, is divinely commissioned to let men know, who is bound and who is loosed.¹ This is the Protestant view that was condemned at Trent, where the priest's office was described, not as merely declaratory, but as in the nature of a judicial act.² Yet Bonaventure, another great schoolman, expressly teaches that sin is remitted by means of the sinner's inward dispositions, but that confession and satisfaction are the institution of the church.³ Surely, therefore, the peni-

¹ After laying various opinions before the reader, he says, "In this so great variety, what is to be held? Surely this we may say and think, that God alone doth forgive and retain sins, and yet hath given power of binding and loosing unto the church; but he bindeth and looseth one way, and the church another. For he only by himself forgiveth sin, who both cleanseth the soul from inward blot, and looseth it from the debt of everlasting death. But this hath he not granted unto priests; to whom, notwithstanding, he hath given the power of binding and loosing, that is to say, of declaring men to be bound or loosed. Whereupon the Lord did first by himself restore health to the leper, and then sent him unto the priests, by whose judgment he might be declared to be cleansed. So also he offered Lazarus to his disciples to be loosed, having first quickened him." (Ussher, *ut supra*, 148.) This case of Lazarus is the one referred to in the last extract, being used by Ivo as a figurative illustration of the church's office in this case.

² But although the absolution of a priest is the dispensation of a benefit that does not come from himself, yet it is not merely a naked ministration either of announcing the gospel, or of declaring that sins are remitted, but it is a sort of judicial act, in which by the said party, as if by a judge, sentence is pronounced ("sed ad instar actus judicialis, quo ab ipso, velut a iudice, sententia pronunciatur"). In accordance with the doctrine thus laid down at Trent, the council, in its ninth canon, anathematises those who say that the sacramental absolution of a priest is not a judicial act, but a naked ministration of declaring that his sins are remitted to one who confesses them, if he only believe himself absolved. (Labb. et Coss. xiv. 819. 825.) This canon, therefore, abandons the qualification *ad instar* admitted before, and maintains unreservedly that sacerdotal absolution is, in its nature, not declaratory but judicial.

³ Bonaventure also says, that, by internal penitence, which consists in acknowledgment of the fault and of the liability to punishment, the fault is remitted; but that that penitence, which consists in confession and satisfaction, is the institution of the church. (Chemnitz, *Exam. Conc.*

tential system which Theodore established in England, and which prevailed all over the West long after his time, was very different from that which the Latin church maintains at present.

It is unquestionable that Christians were led into this system from the ascetic severity of the primitive

Trid. ii. 179.) “Hadrian the Sixth, one of their own popes, acknowledged, that the most approved divines were of this mind, that *the keys of the priesthood do not extend themselves to the remission of the fault* ; and Major affirmeth that this is *the common tenet of the doctors*. So likewise it is avouched by Gabriel Biel, that the whole doctors commonly follow the example of the master of the sentences, that priests do forgive or retain sins, while they judge and declare that they are forgiven by God or retained. But all this notwithstanding, Suarez is bold to tell us, that *this opinion of the master is false, and now at this time erroneous*. It was not held so the other day, when Ferus preached at Mentz that *man did not properly remit sin, but did declare and certify that it was remitted by God*. So that the *absolution received from man is nothing else than if he should say, Behold, my son, I certify thee that thy sins are forgiven thee ; I pronounce unto thee that thou hast God favourable unto thee ; and whatsoever Christ in baptism and in his gospel hath promised unto us, he doth now declare and promise unto thee by me*. (Ussher, *Answ. to a Jês. Chal.* 150.) This passage from Ferus is translated from an edition of his *Commentaries on St. Matthew*, printed at Mentz in 1559. The Council of Trent had laid down a different doctrine on the 25th of November, 1551, but the council’s business was not concluded until near the close of 1563, nor were its decrees formally ratified by the pope until the beginning of 1564. Even after then the reception of these decrees in different Romish countries took a considerable time. In 1570, however, those whose minds were made up to stand by Rome were prepared for defending the divinity of Trent. In an edition of Ferus’s work, accordingly, published at Antwerp in 1570, “these things must be purged out as erroneous ; the opinion of the old doctors must give place to the sentence of the new fathers of Trent.” (Ussher, *ut supra*.) It should be observed, that Peter Lombard’s testimony as to the variety of opinions upon confession, and his own view that the priest’s office is merely declaratory, are the more valuable, because he says, *It is undoubtedly shown from these things, that one ought to offer confession to God first, and then to a priest ; nor otherwise can one come to the entrance of paradise, if there be an opportunity*. Again, *It is certain that it is not enough to confess to God without a priest ; nor is he truly humble and penitent if he does not wish for, and require the judgment of, a priest*. (Ap. Hospinian, *Hist. Sacram.* Tig. 1598, p. 366.) This is the ground taken up at Trent, but it is mere assertion.

church. Persons would rarely join the Christian body, or continue in it, while it was under habitual obloquy and occasional persecution, unless their sense of morality and religion was very nice. Hence they would not endure among themselves any that shrank back from a profession of great strictness. When, accordingly, either persecution or man's innate corruption betrayed any one of their society into some conspicuous scandal, his brethren at once disclaimed him, and would not admit him into membership again until he had undergone a very rigorous discipline. Origen, and others of those early divines who are known as the fathers, insisted upon the propriety of extending this discipline to such offences as were not openly known; but if they had been, would have rendered the parties liable to excommunication. Not only did a consciousness of sin, acting upon sensitive minds, dispose many people to take this view, and put themselves voluntarily under public penance, as a just retribution for their evil deeds, but also an opinion gradually made its way, that such penances were the surest means for obtaining pardon.¹ This is the ordinary current of man's divinity. He is always upon the look-out for something to make him easy under a consciousness of sin, without any radical change of heart and life. An opinion in the intrinsic virtue of these penances accordingly gained ground, in spite of occasional declarations from spiritual authorities of superior importance, that nothing was intended by public penance beyond an open demonstration of a guilty party's readiness to undergo any thing rather

¹ Chemnitz, *Exam. Conc. Trid. ut supra.*

than remain excluded from the communion, and hence of the strong probability that he was now in a truly Christianlike frame of mind. In time, a habit sprang up of confessing to the clergy sins of all sorts. They were viewed as symptoms of spiritual disease, and clergymen as physicians who knew how to heal such. Every sin was considered as curable by a certain proportionate penance, which was to be found laid down in the Penitential of Theodore, and other works of the same character. This notion obviously made men feel it just as necessary to reveal moral wounds to an ecclesiastic, as to reveal bodily ones to a medical practitioner. Boethius, accordingly, says, *If you look for the aid of one to heal you, it is necessary that you uncover your wound.*¹ It is not, however, Christianity, but philosophy, that he makes to utter this speech. Now, Boethius was long a most favourite author; and Theodore, whose Penitential was the first manual of spiritual medicine known in the West, is expressly described by Pope Agatho as a philosopher.² These penitential compensations for iniquities of every shade may, therefore, be nothing else than offshoots from pagan philosophy, grafted on the rigorous penances of the primitive church. Of course this view will not readily be entertained in many quarters, but such as dissent from it must at least admit satisfactions for sin to have been pressed at one time on mankind, simply as medicines for the soul. This is distinctly stated by that Council of Challon, which Bellarmine thought had laid Theodore under obligations, but

¹ Lib. i. Prosa 4. ed. Valpy, p. 96.

² See the passage in the *Bampton Lectures for 1830*, p. 283.

which inexorable chronology declares might, instead, have been obliged to him. The fathers there affirm, *Confession which is made to God purges sin, but that which is made to a priest teaches how these sins are to be purged.*¹ Nor is the doctrine that certain penalties

¹ Conc. Cab. II. can. 33. The original words may be seen in the *Bampton Lectures* for 1830, p. 290. For submitting to this kind of purgation, the Second Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, holden in 836, cites 1 Cor. xi. 31. It sets out with declaring that *God will leave no sin unpunished*, and then proceeds to say, that sins are punished three ways, *two in this life, and the third in a future life. Of the two the Apostle says, If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged. This is the punishment which, by God's inspiration, every sinner inflicts upon himself by penance. Following up which thing the same apostle goes on, But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world (v. 32.). This is the punishment which Almighty God mercifully inflicts upon the sinner, according to the text, whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth (Heb. xii. 6.). There is yet a third, very much to be feared and terrible, which will not take place in this world, but in the future most just judgment of God, when the just judge will say, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels (St. Matt. xxv. 41.). (Labb. et Coss. vii. 1729.)* It is worth while to remark, that the last of these three cases entirely excludes purgatory. The council declares the punishments of sin to be three, namely, voluntary penance, God's judgments, and eternal perdition. These texts from the Corinthians are cited regularly by Romanists in support of their penitential doctrines. Hence the Romish annotation is, "we may note here, that it is not enough only to sin no more, or to repent lightly of that which is past, but that we should punish ourselves according to the weight of the faults past and forgiven; and also that God will punish us by temporal scourges in this life or the next, if we do not make ourselves very clean before we come to receive his holy sacrament; whose heavy hands we may escape by punishing ourselves by fasting and other penance." Here we may observe the fallacy that lurks under the word *lightly* connected with *repent*, and the mention of *temporal scourges in the next life*. How came nothing but *everlasting fire* to be thought of at Aix-la-Chapelle? Fulk thus deals with this Rhemish gloss. "He that sinneth no more doth not lightly but earnestly repent of his sins past. As for popish satisfaction by punishment of ourselves, otherwise than by hearty sorrow for our sins (which is yet no satisfaction for them), there can be none concluded out of this text. Nor that God doth punish his children in the next life, although he chastise them with temporal scourges in this life to bring them to repentance and amendment, not to make satisfaction for their sins forgiven. By true and faithful repentance, therefore, with prayer,

naturally follow upon certain offences very disagreeable to man, if it only go hand in hand with a belief that all internal stain is thereby removed. On the contrary, convicted offenders in lower life will answer at once, *They have had the law*, and are most unwilling to think God's law broader than man's. In spite, however, of this human leaning towards a reliance upon penance as a spiritual medicine, many people were found extremely backward at confession, and perhaps more so still at working out the satisfactions imposed. They were ashamed of exposing their delinquencies, and became weary of some irksome or galling infliction. Hence the leading churchmen were delighted at the opportunities to escape from this system which were afforded by the crusades. Men who embarked on these expeditions cancelled at once all their penitential debts, and as fanatical buccaneering abroad was far more agreeable to semi-barbarians than wearisome or severe penances at home, the crusader gladly set out for Palestine, and left his confessor to believe that he should now make a real and most meritorious clearance of all his spiritual liabilities. Even such men as Bernard and Innocent III. thought this a most fortunate change in affairs.¹ The

fasting, alms, and other works by God allowed as the fruits of repentance and faith, we may avoid God's heavy judgment which our sins have deserved, through the merits of Christ, and not by the merit of satisfaction of our works, but by the mere mercy of God."

¹ "They designed to perform two good deeds at a time, to deliver the holy land, and to facilitate penance for an innumerable company of sinners, who else would have performed none. This is what St. Bernard expressly says, and what Innocent III. affirms; and they pathetically extol the mercy of God, who in those days had given men an opportunity of being converted, and a new method of satisfying the divine

church might continue her usual thunders against every shade of iniquity, and find her voice no longer fall upon unwilling ears. The bulk of men liked interminable fasts and occasional flagellations as little as ever, but they were quite ready to commute such odious liabilities for a spirit-stirring campaign in the East.

The old practices being thus forsaken, could never be re-established. In their place arose the modern system of absolutions upon confession, before penance has been performed. The two former systems, that of public penance for notorious iniquities, and that of private penance for the smaller and less conspicuous transgressions, which may be called the spiritual medicine system, had gone on together. An Anglo-Saxon Lent appears regularly to have exhibited considerable sinners under penance.¹ Lent began, in fact, over all the West with confession; penance then marked its course, and absolution was given on Thursday, in Passion week. This day was, accordingly, called in France *Jeudi absolu*. But men could not be brought back to this discipline, or even to the waiting under a less conspicuous sentence of excommunication until their penances had been performed, after the church had once receded from such demands upon them. Ancient usage, however, afforded an opening for a third and more popular mode of deal-

justice." Jortin's *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, v. 433. Lond. 1773.

¹ Theodore's arrangements for public penance may be seen in the *Bampton Lectures for 1830*, p. 287. The continuance of this system to a late period appears from a homily printed in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, third edition, p. 338., and separately in a supplement for purchasers of the former editions.

ing with penitential questions. While they had been managed very nearly, if not quite, in the strictest manner, it was allowable to remove the sentence of excommunication from a party, seemingly sufficiently penitent, whose life was despaired of. If he recovered, he was to perform the penance incurred by his transgression. This indulgence was now given to all who confessed, without any reference to their bodily state. No novelty could be more delightful to mankind, and as the ancient precatory forms which accompanied a release from excommunication gradually gave way to indicative absolutions, the clergy were as much pleased as the people. The latter were absolved at once, and left with debts of penance, which, like other debts, might be discharged at leisure¹; the former were inflated with intoxicating visions of an importance that seemed like an emanation from the Deity himself. But although this genuine specimen of man's own divinity came forward in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a time when public intelligence was neither very acute nor very well cultivated, it made its way during the scholastic period, when a very keen spirit of disputation was abroad in learned circles. Hence the school-divines required a scriptural authority for clerical absolutions, and they

¹ The laws of the church prescribed a certain time unto penitents, wherein they should give proof of the soundness of their repentance; and gave order that afterward they should be forgiven and comforted, lest they *should be swallowed up with overmuch heaviness*. So that first their penance was enjoined unto them, and thereby they were held to be bound, after performance whereof they received their absolution, by which they were loosed again. But the Audian heretics, without any such trial taken of their repentance, did of their own heads give them absolution presently upon their confession, as the popish priests use to do now-a-days." Ussher, *Answ. to a Jes. Chal.* 144.

found one in the power technically called that of the keys. The text, however, upon which this power chiefly rests, is figurative, and consequently of no certain interpretation. There were, accordingly, those who insisted upon interpreting the figure strictly. The church, they said, could unbind nothing that she had not previously bound. In plainer language, she could put on an excommunication, and take it off again. Nor, if her act, in either case, had been done with due discretion, could there be any doubt of its ratification above.¹ A

¹ *The right to bind and unbind, which belongs to the church, and that to retain and remit sins, are the same right. This authority is explained differently not only by heretics, but also by Catholics. The Novatians restrained this power to remit sins to the administration of baptism, where the sinner's crimes are pardoned by the priest's ministry. The Montanists before these only recognised this power of remitting sins in the person of the apostle. The Albigensian heretics and those of our time, have given different explanations of the texts alleged. Some have followed those of the Novatians; others have said with Calvin, that this power of remitting sins consisted in the preaching of the gospel, and in the assurance given by the pastor, on Jesus Christ's part, to sinners, that their sins have been remitted to them by means of their faith. Those who would appear more reasonable have explained this authority by the right to excommunicate a public sinner, who offends the whole church, either by teaching a false doctrine as Hymenæus, who was put under an anathema by St. Paul, or by doing criminal acts, like the incest of that Corinthian who married his step-mother, whom St. Paul excommunicated and delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved. This proceeding shows the right to bind sinners. So the pardon granted by St. Paul to the repentant Corinthian shows the right which belongs to the church to loose the sinner. Nevertheless, this interpretation, under pretence of being favourable to the church, takes from her the most extensive part of her authority, which consists in the remission of all sorts of sins, and not only in the absolution of a public crime.*

Among Catholics, people are agreed upon two things. One is, that this power to remit sins, being announced in general terms in Scripture without any restriction, comprehends in its extent every sort of sins. The other is, that this authority, having been placed in the hands of the church to obtain the remission of sins, all the faithful are obliged to make use of this authority as of an ordinary means established by Jesus Christ to have the pardon of their sins.

view, however, so very simple, and so little fitted for feeding the vanity and lulling the fears of sinful men, had but slender chance of popularity. People found it much more agreeable to believe that penance

But the difficulty consists in knowing what is the true sense of this liberty, which is given to the priest, to remit or to retain sins, to bind or unbind. The common opinion of the scholastic divines and of Father Petau is this, that to bind signifies the same thing as to retain: the priest retains the sins of which he refuses absolution on account of the penitent's indisposition, as he remits and unbinds those of which he gives absolution.

*To this explanation is opposed, that retain, which is a word more obscure, must be explained by bind, which is more evident, and not the contrary; and besides that the retention does not consist in a refusal, but in an action, which is sufficiently signified by the term unbind. To which is added that the ancient fathers have explained these texts in another way, having declared that the power of binding consisted not in the simple refusal of absolution, but in the imposition of satisfactions. Nevertheless this interpretation of the fathers, though true, has given occasion to some spirits who adore their own thoughts more than those of antiquity, to draw a bad consequence, saying that the church has only power to unbind and remit that which she has bound and retained; that is to say, that she gives absolution to penances which she has imposed, and restores the communion which she had taken away. (De Marca, *Du Sacrement de Penitence*, Opp. Bamberg, 1789, v. 145.) This account is as full as it is fair; but it shows plainly enough that Scripture and the fathers are on one side, and that Romish divines are on the other. The practices, in fact, of the ancient church and of the modern Romish church are wholly different. Cassander accordingly says, *there is this difference between the doing of penance, or exomologesis, known to the ancients, and that which is now in use, that formerly absolution, and reconciliation, and the right of communion by imposition of hands, were not granted until those works that had been enjoined by the chief minister of the church, were properly performed. But now, immediately that confession is over, the hand is placed on the penitent, and he is admitted to the right of communion, and after absolution some works of piety, which make for the castigation of the flesh and the purging away of the remains of sin, are enjoined. (Grotii, Opp. Theol. iii. 577.) So also Le Courager, in his notes on Father Paul, says, Nothing is more true, than what Fra. Paolo says, after the theologians of Cologne, that nothing is so contrary to the sense of the ancient fathers as to understand the word bind conformably to the modern practice of imposing some light penance, and admitting in the meanwhile to the participation of the sacraments by a premature absolution before the accomplishment of a satisfaction proportioned to the quality of the sins. This is truly what antiquity never understood. Hist. du Conc. de Trente, i. 566.**

was a sacrament, which must be administered by a person regularly ordained ; that in such hands it conferred, somehow or other, the grace of remission ; that it worked by means of confession ; and that all who wished to confess, if they could not actually do so, were safe. Upon these principles, the whole Romish world was safe, and put itself in the very position that the ancient Jews had taken. *They* felt sure that descent from Abraham, and formal obedience to Moses, were quite sufficient for the safety of their souls.¹ In the same way, Romanists could see no danger so long as they practised certain religious formalities, or wished to practise them, if life were suddenly withdrawn. How are people generally to know that Rome owes this delightful absolution system to the twelfth century? Man's corrupt, pro-

¹ *They are broken cisterns that can hold no water, which your own teachers have hewn out for you, teaching for doctrines, as the Scripture plainly says, the commandments of men ; and besides these things they impose upon themselves and you, fancying that any way, to those who are of the seed of Abraham after the flesh, although they be sinners, and infidels, and disobedient to God, the eternal kingdom, will be given.* (Justin. Mart. *Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. Opp.* Par. 1636, p. 369.) In another place, Justin says to the Jew, *If you do not work one day, you think religion satisfied, not understanding why the command was given to you ; and if you eat unleavened bread, you say that you have fulfilled the will of God. Not in these things is the Lord our God well pleased.* (*Ibid.* 229.) Justin then goes on to say, that what God requires is the solid moral improvement of his people ; and this view he confirms by references to Scripture. Man's divinity, however, wants tradition, or something, call it what we may, that puts the Bible into leading-strings. He thus finds means for delighting himself with visions of spiritual safety from indefeasible privileges, and formal observances. As this divinity is the spontaneous growth of human nature, it is not confined to Jews and Christians, and, consequently, does not necessarily depend upon some sort of learning which professes a degree of subserviency to the Old and New Testaments. It is a species of theology to which also Mahometans and Pagans give unhesitating assent, and which they support with such measures of erudition as they severally possess.

crastinating heart would fain give it credit for apostolical antiquity. When the truth comes out, it stands forth as a gross abuse, and certainly not less perilous than gross. Now, Anglo-Saxon times were exempted from this delusion and danger. They did not put off confession to the end of Lent, and then expect immediate absolution. The day that preceded Lent was called, and still is, *Shrove*, that is, *Confession Tuesday*. Lent itself was the season for that penance which had been imposed; and although we do not say, like the French, *Absolution Thursday*, yet our ancestors acted upon the same principle that was used by their neighbours upon the continent. Absolution closed Lent, and communion came on the Thursday in Passion week, known as *Cæna Domini*, or at Easter. To these things many objections may easily be found. But the whole system differs radically from that which blinds and bewitches modern Romanists. Hence there is no room for assuming a contemptuous air, when this difference is pointed out. Archbishop Theodore did not teach the penitential doctrine that is taught by the catechism of the Council of Trent. Neither doctrine may be very sound, but certainly Theodore's is the less dangerous of the two. Before it can be placed upon modern Romish ground, Anglo-Saxon authorities must be shown to have insisted, as indispensable, upon a *wish*, at least, to confess, and to have disputed, not only the genuineness, but also the efficacy, of internal contrition, unless it extorted confession to a clergyman, wherever one was to be had. Now it is well known that divines looked upon these matters as questionable, until the

Council of Trent had risen. Since that time they have passed ordinarily as integral members of the Romish creed. Nor probably have many things done more to recommend it among the thoughtless mass of men.

Inquiring minds, however, can easily discern very serious objections to such principles. They obviously tend to lower the sense of moral responsibility. They bring the clergy into an over-close, a dangerous, an offensive, and a suspicious contact with other people. The scriptural authority for them is glaringly defective; and what is commonly but little suspected, even Romish theological ground for them, to say nothing of historical, is of a very slippery kind. Sacraments, it is well known, require form and matter, that is, certain words pronounced by the officiating minister, and certain significant substances, as bread, wine, water, or the like, used in the administration. The form in this case is found, as might be expected, in the words of absolution customarily used after the thirteenth century, and in this form is rested the chief force of the alleged sacrament.¹ Matter was more difficult to find, there being no material substance used. But matter, *as it were*, was found in the penitent's own acts, which are said to be contrition, confession, and satisfaction.² It is needless to discuss the inaccuracy of attributing *some sort* of material character to things that have no matter in them. As

¹ *The holy synod (of Trent) teaches besides that the form of the sacrament of penance, in which chiefly the force of it is placed, is contained in these words of the minister: I absolve thee, &c. Labb. et Coss. xiv. 816.*

² *The penitent's own acts, namely, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, are, as it were (quasi), the matter of this sacrament.*

there was to be a sacrament, they were pressed forward by the exigencies of the case. Nor do the divisions into which penitence is thrown appear open to any objection. It is obvious that a contrite frame of mind must be the first step towards reconciliation above, and that such a frame involves an admission of guilt, together with a disposition to make any reparation that may lie in the offender's power. But the first of these things may be of a character wholly internal; so may also be the two others, where the sin affects only the party himself. An individual may be deeply shamed and grieved for the past, may have mournfully confessed his fault to the great Being, who alone, besides himself, was cognisant of it, and have made all the reparation in his power, by such a change in his habits, as shall tend to the honour, instead of the reproach, of religion. He may also prescribe to himself some pecuniary sacrifices, or personal austerities, as means of training himself for an altered state, and evidences that he has actually entered upon one. But in such a case, although people around may observe symptoms of a change, the world at large may know very little about the matter, and clearly nothing sacramental has been done. Nor, in strict propriety, can any thing sacramental, even in the loose sense of a thing merely external, be done in contrition. This is, however, the most important of the three divisions into which penitence is thrown. It is the origin, in fact, of the other two. The question then arises, is not contrition of itself sufficient for securing the pardon of sin? Aquinas admits that it is, but maintains the necessity of con-

fession to a priest, and of the satisfactory penances which he prescribes, partly because a man cannot be sure that his contrition is sufficient, and partly because these outward acts are prescribed by the church.¹ The Council of Trent also teaches that such a contrition as leads beyond the fear of punishment to the love of goodness, that is, *real* contrition, may reconcile at once the sinner to God ; but then it arbitrarily, though vaguely, goes on to say, that such reconciliation is not to be *ascribed* to the mere contrition without a *wish* for the sacrament, which is *included* in it, as we are most strangely told.² Of these half-timid, half-adventurous words, the whole value obviously lies in the admission that genuine contrition is sufficient for the penitent's purpose. All the rest is mere assertion to support a system which held mankind in chains, and for its own support it must rest contented with school-divinity. The council having thus first admitted every thing, and then retracted nearly all, goes on in the steps of Leo X. to censure Luther, without naming him, for denouncing attrition as little else than downright hypocrisy, and an aggravation of guilt. It is declared, on the contrary, to be a divine movement, when it excludes the wish for sin, and inspires a hope of

¹ *Although the whole punishment may be remitted by contrition, still confession and satisfaction are necessary, as well because a man cannot be certain of his contrition, whether it shall be sufficient to remove every thing, as also because confession and satisfaction are in the precept.* Suppl. 3. p. 3.

² *It teaches, besides, that although this contrition may happen sometimes to be perfect by charity, and reconcile a man to God, before this sacrament is received in act, that nevertheless the reconciliation is not to be ascribed to the contrition itself, without the wish of the sacrament, which is included in it.* Labb. et Coss. xiv. 817.

pardon, useless, indeed, if it go no farther, but generally useful, because it leads people to seek heavenly favour in the sacrament of penance.¹ This fencing with a difficulty, which was evidently extorted by apprehensions of Protestant scholarship, leaves Romish absolutions undefended. Fear and shame would hear of no denial, that contrition of itself may be sufficient; and hence *attrition*, or the mere ignoble dread of penalties incurred, which, unquestionably, is the engine that keeps confessionals at work, must be dismissed with a bare testimony to its usefulness. This recommendation it evidently has; a servile fear of punishment being the first step towards a filial fear of God, and a consequent departure from iniquity. The question is, whether such servile fear, if it go no farther than bring a man to the confessional, has a

¹ The council declares that the imperfect contrition, which is called *attrition*, since it is commonly conceived, either from consideration of the baseness of sin, or from the fear of hell and punishments, if it exclude the wish of sinning, with a hope of pardon, not only does not make a man a hypocrite, and more a sinner, but that is also the gift of God, and an impulse of the Holy Spirit, not indeed yet indwelling, but only moving, by which the penitent being aided, prepares a way for himself to justice. And although without the sacrament of penance it cannot of itself lead the sinner to justification, yet it disposes him towards the obtaining of God's favour in the sacrament of penance. (Labb. et Coss. xiv. 817.) Chemnitz enters at great length, with his usual ability, into the examination of the questions of contrition and attrition, and into the vindication of Luther as connected with these questions. The Saxon reformer appears to have been either led into his view of attrition, or confirmed in it by a passage in Austin, which very truly says, that what a man does from a carnal fear of punishment, he does against his will, and would not do it at all, if he thought he could safely refrain. Such a state of mind is not likely to produce an abandonment of sin, and confessions made from its operation have evidently something of hypocrisy in them. The party puts on the appearance of a penitence which he does not feel. He desires to escape not from his sins, but from their consequences, and only seeks an anodyne in religious formalities under an uneasy consciousness of evil habits.

divine promise of salvation? To this vital inquiry the council gives no answer, but seemingly seeks only an escape from responsibility. A reply was, however, given by a body that emanated from the Council of Trent, and composed a catechism of its doctrines, as the world understood, for general use. This committee did not, unfortunately, complete its labours, while the council itself was in existence to sanction them. Its work, therefore, could have no farther authentication than an approval by the pope. This was immediately given, and the catechism has circulated ever since as an authentic manual of Romish belief. If it really be such, the papal church maintains, that, although contrition may of itself ensure safety to the soul, yet, in this case, its pungency must be so severe, that penitents can never be sure of having it sufficiently. Hence God, the catechism tells us, has mercifully opened an *asier way* of reconciling sinners to himself, namely, through the keys of the church.¹

¹ *Should we grant this, that sins are blotted out by contrition, who does not know that it must be so vehement, sharp, consuming, that the bitterness of the grief may be equalled and compared with the greatness of the wickedness? Since, therefore, very few could come up to this degree, it came to pass also that pardon of sins could be hoped for by few indeed of sinners in this way. Wherefore it was necessary that the most clement Lord should consult for the common safety of men by an easier way (faciliori ratione), which, accordingly, with admirable wisdom, he effected, when he delivered the keys of the heavenly kingdom to the church. (Catechismus ad Parochos. p. ii. sect. 46. Lovan. 1662, p. 250.)* The compilers of this famous catechism, which was intended as a manual of instruction for the parochial clergy, were Cardinal Charles Boromeo, archbishop of Milan, a sincere ascetic, now sainted, and still justly venerated in the Milanese; Francis Foreiro, a Portuguese divine; Leonard Marini, archbishop of Lanciano; and Giles Foscari, bishop of Modena. Their work did not appear until 1566, when it was formally sanctioned by the pope, and it has received repeatedly since papal and synodical sanction. It is, therefore, a work of great authority; but its completion two years after the Council of Trent itself was dissolved is a fatal

Here, then, is the secret of Romish absolutions. People are taught, that certain formal acts, of no saving efficacy, it is admitted in themselves, are made efficacious for salvation by clerical intervention.¹ This, undoubtedly, does not leave, without justification, the charge sometimes brought against Romanists, that they look to their clergy for the pardon of sin. Nor has even this view of ecclesiastical potency been regularly disclaimed within the Church of Rome. On the contrary, the Rhemish Testament, from which English Roman Catholics are to seek a knowledge of recorded Christian truth, represents Jewish reflections upon our Lord's exercise of his power to forgive sin as of a piece with Protestant reflections upon

objection. It is observable that the compilers, like the council, were evidently bent upon fencing away as much as possible from a manly consideration of contrition. Their rhetorical language is quite inapplicable to the milder shades of human transgression, to the bulk, therefore, of persons in respectable life. It is of a piece with the passionate sort of declamation sometimes heard among Protestant dissenters, who show a disposition to paint all sins by lines of equal blackness: the object of these Protestants is to enhance the importance of conversion and election. The Romish object, in using the exaggeration translated above, is to drive all people into the confessional. *The easier way* which they are promised there, is thus treated by our Bishop Fisher, or *Roffensis* as he was commonly called upon the continent, who, with Pighius and Eckius, furnished the main storehouse of divinity for the Council of Trent. *The church believes that sinners can be reconciled to God in two ways. One, by a great and bitter pain, the sacrament of absolution not having yet been received: the other by the receiving of the sacrament, some pain preceding. In either way, undoubtedly, God is ready to bestow his grace. But the second way is easier and more secure to the sinner. Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio, Opp. Wirceb. 1597, col. 386.*

¹ *By the doctrine of the Catholic faith it is to be by all believed and constantly affirmed, that if any one be in that state of mind as to make him sorry for sins committed, and at the same time resolved not to sin hereafter, although he do not feel the kind of sorrow which may be sufficient to obtain pardon, yet, if he shall properly confess his sins to a priest, by the power of the keys, all his wickednesses are remitted and forgiven. Catech. ad Paroch. 250.*

Romish absolutions.¹ Vainly, however, will an objector appeal to Rhemish glosses, or even to the papally sanctioned catechism itself, as any thing conclusive against Romanism. He will be told, by any competent adversary, that pardon for sin without genuine contrition is really not affirmed by the Council of Trent, and hence cannot be fixed as an article of faith upon the Roman church. Nor is it possible to deny the truth of such assertions. Those who settled papal divinity at Trent might have been desirous of confirming and spreading a belief that contrition scarcely could be genuine, unless the party feeling it felt also anxious for confession to a priest. But they have only gone so far as to make random assertions, that contrition includes a purpose of confession, and that without such inclusion reconciliation is not to be *ascribed* to contrition. As for the *easier way* of reconciling sinners by means of attrition, that was left for consideration to their catechetical committee; which roundly asserted it, but did not complete its business until two years after

¹ "When the Jews heard Christ remit sins, they charged him with blasphemy, as heretics now charge his priests of the New Testament, for that they remit sins: to whom he said, *Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven,*" &c. (*St. Matt.* ix. 3.) "As the Pharisees did always carp Christ for remission of sins in earth, so the heretics reprehend the church that remitteth sins by his authority." (*St. Luke*, vii. 49.) Fulke very well observes upon this passage, "A slander: for we acknowledge the power of forgiveness of sins by the ministers of the church, yet far differing from the power of our Saviour Christ, who, as God, forgave absolutely, of his own authority, his servants by declaring his will in the forgiveness of sins." (*Hierom. in Matt.*) The difference between Protestants and Romanists here is this: the former claim no power beyond the removal of canonical penances, and the privilege of declaring that penitents possessed of the required inward dispositions are absolved; the latter make outward acts atone for the deficiencies of inward dispositions.

the council itself had separated: until, therefore, the only authority which all Romanists can be driven to recognise was no longer in existence.¹

These facts cannot be duly weighed without undermining the confessionals of modern Rome. Endurance is gained for them by their absolutions. Thus they stand upon ground of a most deceptive nature, which did not appear until the thirteenth century. Earlier times had considered penances as medicines for sin, and required confessions for the purpose of administering these remedies properly.

¹ Down to the time of the Reformation, many divines admitted that sacramental confession could not be established by Scripture. Erasmus and Beatus Rhenanus, for instance, *both teach, that secret confession of individual sins is not only no institution of divine right, or commanded, but neither was it the usage of the ancient church.* (Bellarm. *Controv.* iii. 435.) The ancient gloss also upon the canon law says, *It is better said, that it (confession) was instituted from some tradition of the universal church, rather than from the authority of the Old and New Testament.* Upon which gloss, Nicholas Tudeschi, generally known as *Panormitan*, or *Panormitanus*, from the Latin name of his see, Palermo, the most famous canonist of the fifteenth century, says, *This opinion much pleases me, because there is no clear authority which makes us understand that God or Christ has explicitly instituted the making of confession to a priest.* (Dallæus, *de Sacram. Confess.* 12.) The reserve of later Romanists on this matter is obviously of no weight. They consider themselves bound by the Council of Trent, and are very careful to make no admissions. Testimonies from the earlier, more candid, and hence more trustworthy class of Romish theologians, cannot be better closed than by one from Adrian VI., one of the worthiest and best-informed divines that ever filled the papal chair. Happily for his credit, he did not live quite long enough to be fettered by the tyranny of Trent. He says, *there is a great difficulty among the doctors whether the keys of the priesthood extend to the remission of the fault. And certainly the most approved theologians have thought that it does not.* *The Master* (Lombard), sect. 18. dist. 4., *says that God has not granted to priests the power of dismissing or binding the fault, but of showing that men are bound and loosed. In retaining and loosing faults, therefore, the gospel priest does that which the legal one formerly did in leprous cases. And these are originally the words of Jerome treating upon that text of Matthew, Whatever thou shalt bind, &c.* Launoy, *Epistolæ*, Cantab. 1689, p. 659.

These principles had been engrafted upon the primitive penitential discipline. The gist of this was, that certain transgressions were a bar to communion. Members of the congregation, therefore, who had been guilty of these offences stood excommunicated. Nor would their brethren receive them into communion again, until they had shown evidence of an altered state of mind, by undergoing some prescribed penance. When this was done, and not before, the excommunication was taken off, or, in other words, the parties were formally absolved. Of course, the formal assignment of penance, which may be properly called an announcement of excommunication, and the formal removal of it, which was called absolution, were duties discharged by the authorised ministers of religion. But, in discharging such duties, men kept strictly within human bounds. They imposed a visible restriction until the due fulfilment of certain visible obligations; and when these were fulfilled, they restored a visible privilege that had been forfeited. In all these things there was little room for misunderstanding. Even when the system was made rather of a formal nature by working it regularly upon a great scale, once every year, its original meaning was kept in sight. The assignment of penance, and the day of absolution, were placed some weeks apart. Thus the clergyman's agency still preserved its human character. Having inquired into the circumstances of the case, he was authorised to tie from the communion by penance, and to loose the party, when his penance was over, so that he could communicate again. This office was closely analogous to

that of the ancient Jewish priesthood, in leprosy cases, and was often compared with it. The old Mosaic officer was to examine a suspected person's condition, and if he found him a leper, he was to interdict him from the familiar converse of society. Again, if the party became better, he was to undergo a second examination; and if the priest found him recovered, he was to give him a formal permission to mix in society freely once more.

Modern Romish usage, however, makes absolution follow upon the heels of confession. This, in itself, is a gross abuse, and one that defeats the very object for which confession was instituted, namely, the assignment of penance. It is a reward before any thing is deserved, a payment before any thing is earned. Undoubtedly, the confessor tells his penitent what penances he ought to undergo: that is, how he ought to behave himself, or to work, for entitling himself to the desired reward or payment. But we know how it fares with such premature gratifications in ordinary life, and can expect no better return for them when they involve nothing open and tangible. But a much greater evil flows from the universal use of indicative absolutions, which have come down from the thirteenth century. The indiscriminate employment of such a form is highly blameable. The mischief was afterwards made more complete, by that sanction to the doctrine of attrition, which was given by the Trentine catechetical committee, in the sixteenth century. From these things, and absolution immediately after confession, much of the evil, popularly charged by Protestants upon the

Romish confessional, must necessarily belong to it. But such abuses are not the growth of Anglo-Saxon times; and writers who treat upon such matters are bound to let their readers know this. They are not justified in leading people to infer that modern Romish confessionals proceed upon principles that prevailed in the days of Archbishop Theodore.

CHAPTER V.

ORIGIN OF PAPAL ECCLESIASTICAL POWER.

Want of scriptural authority for the papal power. — Worldly means that gained it. — The pall. — Sought by Egbert of York. — The archbishopric of Lichfield. — Offa's application to Rome. — The legatine Council of Calcuith. — Offa's act generally condemned. — Applications to Rome referential. — Kenulph. — Seeks information, not authority, from Rome. — Leo aids his enterprises. — Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury. — English remonstrance to the pope.

LEARNED members of the Latin communion naturally wish to spread a belief that papal greatness rests upon a solid spiritual foundation. Hence they seek to fortify it by Scriptural authority. St. Peter is represented as its origin, and for his privileges, as the first of popes, our Lord's own words are cited from the New Testament. But, although that holy book is habitually in the hands of Protestants, none of them ever seem to see the texts bearing upon St. Peter, in the light which Romish exigencies require. Such as know nothing of the facts, may suppose that a population, estranged from Rome, is regularly trained against her doctrines. This is however, undoubtedly, not the case with Englishmen. They have, indeed, generally a strong prejudice against Romanism. But few of them, even in the better-informed circles, know any thing of its details. If Romish doctrine, therefore, could be found in Scripture, English readers would have stumbled upon it

there long ago. They may, perhaps, think very little about some few texts upon which Romanists lay a great stress. But it is because these are obscure texts, of which the practical utility is not very plain, and of which the use made in Romish controversy is quite unknown to the generality of Protestants. Better-informed readers, without Romish prejudices, are at no loss to see the precariousness of theories built upon figurative language, and often know besides, that even the Fathers, for whom Romanists ordinarily profess all but unlimited respect, have explained our Lord's language to St. Peter, so as to embarrass papal advocates.¹ Thus Protestants, acquainted with Romish controversy, necessarily turn to history, instead of divinity, for a knowledge of the grounds on which Rome has reared her eccle-

¹ Austin says, *therefore it is that our Lord says*, Upon this rock I will build my church, *because Peter had said*, "Thou art Christ the son of the living God. Upon this rock," *therefore, he says, which thou hast confessed*, "I will build my church." *Now, the rock was Christ, upon which foundation even Peter himself was built.* "For no man can lay any other foundation than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus." Other passages, cited by Launoy from the Fathers, make St. Peter's confession the *rock* on which the Church was to be built. (*Epist.* 371. 423.) It may also be observed that St. Peter's sermon recorded in *Acts*, ii. really laid the first foundations of a general church. Before that time our Lord's disciples were confined pretty much, if not entirely, to his own immediate followers. But St. Peter's sermon "added unto them about three thousand souls." (41.) It is obvious that a prophetic view of this important conversion would quite justify the language addressed to St. Peter, which is pressed so constantly into the service of popery. The favourite view, however, of the Fathers rather seems to be, that the *rock* was St. Peter's confession of Christ's divinity. *So writes Hilary in the sixth book on the Trinity; Epiphanius, Hæreses*, 59.; *Cyril, in his fourth book on Isaiah; Chrysostom, homily 55. on Matthew: also in his second homily on Psalm 50.; Ambrose in his sixth book upon Luke; Gregory the Great, lib. vii. indict. ii. epist. 53., and in the fifth book of his Morals, cap. vii.; Adrian I. epist. iii.; Nicolaus I. epist. ii.; John VIII. epist. liv.; and most of the authors of the middle age. De Marca, de Discrim. Cleric. et Laic. Opp. iv. 330.*

siastical importance. Nor to this quarter need any turn in vain. Authentic records reveal every step by which mere Christian bishops mounted up to a vast new empire in the ancient capital of the Cæsars.

This height was gained by means of ecclesiastical, political, and doctrinal aids. The Roman bishops availed themselves of their advantages as the first clergymen in the first of cities, to recommend, authorise, and enforce various arrangements that were desired on various occasions in the remoter parts of Europe. They thus gradually accumulated an immense influence, which artful politicians thought, and found, might be made useful for their own selfish ends. Of this influence, one fruitful source was the encouragement habitually given by the Roman bishops to such modes of professing religion as men naturally delight in. They patronised much of that gross and gaudy worship, of that reliance also upon outward observances which pagan and judaising habits had brought into the church. It is obvious that an advantageous position, skilfully improved, in these ways, to serve the interests and flatter the prejudices of mankind, must in time have rendered any succession of men very important personages. The weight, accordingly, which the popes gained in society, needs no explanation from divinity with such as merely seek to understand facts. History completely solves the problem. In this historical solution, attention may first be fixed, conveniently enough, upon the pall portion, an honorary distinction bestowed by the Roman see upon clergymen whom domestic authorities had chosen for metropolitans.

The name of this vesture may at once make readers think, who understand Latin, that it must have been originally a *cloak* or *mantle*. It was, in fact, anciently a splendid garment of ample size, used by the emperors; and from them came permission for its use to the patriarchs, as an especial distinction. The Roman bishop's privilege to wear it was inserted in the fictitious donation of Constantine, about which more will be said hereafter. This document, although long laughed out of countenance, is evidence, from its high antiquity, to certain facts, and among them to the pall's origin, in imperial favour, as an hierarchical distinction. It is also evidence, that the Roman bishops themselves rested their right to use this robe upon the emperor's grant. For, although Romanists now desire to hear of few things less than of Constantine's donation, yet it passed for centuries as an authentic instrument, which might be triumphantly produced against any who demanded papal title-deeds, and which every man who really felt as a Christian must implicitly respect.¹ The pall's imperial origin does not rest, however, merely upon this fictitious donation. When Anthimus was

¹ *It is enough for the present, that that donation, the authority of which always flourished in the Roman church, until the trick was found out, assigns the origin of the pall to the emperors* (De Marca, *Opp.* iii. 42.) The word *pallium* does not appear in this donation. The use of all the imperial dresses is granted in it to Sylvester, the Roman bishop; and among them is an article named *phrygium*. Baronius took this for the *pall*; but De Marca proves that it is the *mitre*. This mitre had at bottom, when merely an imperial ornament, one golden circle, of a crown-like appearance. Boniface VIII. added a second circle higher up, and Urban V. a third. Thus, under the combined operations of time and vanity, the *tiara* was provided for papal heads. The pall was evidently the *purpurea chlamys* of the donation. *Ibid.* 43.

deprived of the patriarchate of Constantinople, *seeing himself*, we are told, *driven from his see, he restored the pall which he had to the imperial couple*.¹ Obviously, if Anthimus had not received the pall from these great personages, he could not be said to have restored it to them. After a time, the Roman bishops conferred the pall upon such prelates as they appointed to represent them, in distant regions, lest these delegates should not command due respect, if they appeared without the splendid distinction of their principals. But it seems, that this privilege of wearing an imperial vestment was not conceded originally to others than the emperor's own grantees, or their successors, until his consent had been gained.²

¹ "Legimus apud Liberatum diaconum in cap. xxi Breviarii, Anthimum, patriarcham Constantinopolitanum, a sede sua dejectum, pallium imperatori Justiniano reddidisse. *Anthimus*, inquit, *videns se sede pulsum, pallium quod habuit imperatoribus reddidit*, id est, Justiniano, conjugique ejus Theodoræ. Nil dici potest apertius. Reddere enim ad eum refertur, a quo res quæpiam accepta est." *Ibid.* 44.

² This De Marca collects from two grants of the pall to two successive bishops of Arles, in the fifth century, and from the conduct of Gregory the Great. Childebert, king of the Franks, upon the former occasions, had recently gained possession of that part of Gaul, and thinking Auxanius, bishop of Arles, likely to serve him in conciliating the good will of his new subjects, he wrote to Vigilius, bishop of Rome, requesting him to confer the pall upon that prelate. Vigilius was willing, but waited until he got Justinian's leave, when Childebert's request was granted. The same things were done in the case of Aurelian, successor to Auxanius. Fimiani, the annotator upon Boehmer's notes to De Marca, accounts both for the conduct of Vigilius and Gregory, from the delicate circumstances in which the popes found themselves towards the emperors in the sixth and seventh centuries. The sovereign then held a very precarious authority over Rome, and hence was very suspicious of any papal connection with foreign princes. It is inferred, accordingly, that Vigilius and Gregory asked permission of Justinian and Maurice respectively to bestow the pall out of Italy, merely for the sake of avoiding all ground for offence and suspicion. Upon ordinary occasions, Fimiani says, we know nothing of any previous application to the emperors when the popes gave the pall. The case of Anthimus is disposed of by stating that prelate to have been preferred to the see of Con-

In process of time this was not waited for, and the Roman bishops converted the pall into an effective instrument for extending their influence beyond Italy. They were aided in this unconsciously by foreign princes. It was Childebert, king of the Franks, who requested, as a means of serving himself, a pall for Auxanius, bishop of Arles; and it was no other than Recared, a Spanish monarch, who made the same request on behalf of Leander, bishop of Seville. That prelate was not thus distinguished with a view of confirming his ordination, which took place many years before, but simply to gratify him and his royal master too. For the same purpose a pall was conferred upon Syagrius, bishop of Autun, who was a great favourite with the Frankish kings.¹ These transactions, therefore, were precisely similar to the grants of cardinals' hats out

stantinople by means of Theodora, Justinian's wife, with her husband's consent, and therefore, when deposed from it, to have naturally restored to his patrons the ensign of that dignity which he owed entirely to them. That the pall really was not an imperial robe, but a sacred one, Fimiani collects from another passage in Liberatus, the author who relates the case of Anthimus, in which we are told, that a new patriarch of Alexandria, after watching by the corpse of his predecessor, takes from it *the pall of blessed Mark*, and is then legitimately in possession. (De Marca, iii. 260.) These pleadings are evidently inconclusive. As for the last, which seems the most weighty of the three, it is not to be supposed that a special grant of the pall was made to every new patriarch; and it is most likely that any such grant, when originally made, would purport to have been made in honour of St. Mark, St. Peter, or the like. Thus the individual pall would naturally gain the name of that particular saint's pall. The whole strength of De Marca's argument Fimiani considers to lie in Constantine's donation, which document he merely dismisses as a thing wholly exploded. But although every body knows its worthlessness as a formal conveyance of Rome, and a vast deal besides, to Pope Sylvester, it may be, and it certainly is, good evidence enough of information and ideas current in the eighth and ninth centuries, which is the whole importance that De Marca attaches to it.

¹ De Marca, iii. 48.

of Italy in later ages. But such compliments were more effective at a remote period. Men's ignorance led them into estimates, grossly exaggerated, of that distant prelate, whose smiles were so much coveted. His present eventually lost much of its power to bewitch the vulgar eye. The gorgeous robe itself, reaching to the feet, grew out of date; and in its place was merely given the ornamented band with a pendant before and behind, formerly fastened on the shoulders over the real pall. This vestige of the original magnificence became known as the pall itself. Its form may be seen in the archiepiscopal arms of Canterbury, Armagh, and Dublin. For practical purposes it was just as useful as its showy predecessor, or rather as the whole dress, of which it formed but an inconsiderable part. Prelates were delighted with it as a mark of their connexion with the most distinguished members of their body. Nor did they find it, like the star and ribbon of some modern order, a mere personal gratification. Popular opinion venerated Rome as the seat of St. Peter's martyrdom, the resting-place of his remains, and looked up to the Roman bishop as the successor to that apostle's privileges. To the few who possessed a tolerable measure of information, the ancient capital was also respected as the place for finding more knowledge, especially of the canons, than existed in any other city of the West. To be, therefore, distinguished and acknowledged as an accredited agent of the Roman see was a very powerful ingredient in ecclesiastical importance. Among other things, it was a recognition of the party's right to the dignity

of metropolitan. In this way, it answered to the mutual recognitions now existing among civil governments. These are not, however, necessary to the actual existence of any government. Thus Belgium, for instance, in these days, long was not acknowledged as a separate state by Russia, which, no doubt, caused a degree of mortification to the Belgic royal family, and perhaps also to the people. But Belgium had a real government and royal family of her own, notwithstanding. So the want of papal recognition was not absolutely necessary to the domestic acknowledgment of a metropolitan, though it might mortify his feelings, and lessen his influence. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, when Norman William conquered England, never obtained a pall from Rome, but he seems to have been in the full exercise of the archiepiscopal functions, and had so much importance among his countrymen, that the Conqueror took him over, among other distinguished Anglo-Saxons, meant for hostages, on first revisiting Normandy, after the conquest was accomplished.¹

¹ *The pontificate of Stigand, which he (William) knew not canonical, he did by no means approve; but he thought it better to wait the apostolical's (pope's) opinion, than to depose him too hastily. Other reasons also persuaded him that he bear with for a time, and honourably treat that man, whose authority among the English was very great. (Gul. Pictav. apud Maseres, Hist. Angl. Selecta Monumenta, Lond. 1807, p. 149.)* Thus we learn from the contemporary authority of William of Poitiers, who had very good means of knowing the truth; that William seems to have entertained no doubt of his own authority to depose Stigand, but only thought it best to consult the pope, and that Stigand's authority among his countrymen rendered him very formidable (*cujus inter Anglos auctoritas erat summa*). Accordingly, when he went into Normandy, he determined upon taking away with him some of those whose fidelity and power he most suspected, Archbishop Stigand, Adelinus (Edgar Atheling), the relation of king Edward, three earls, Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof, together with others of high distinction. *Ibid.* 153.

By the pall, in fact, no new powers were conferred, but it was found so very useful and gratifying on many accounts, that metropolitans were very anxious for it, and this feeling rendered it a powerful instrument for pushing papal authority over all the West.¹

Of the anxiety entertained by metropolitans for this papal compliment and recognition, Egbert of York is adduced as an example. *The Anglo-Saxon Church* is charged with making the pall to have been *forced* upon that prelate. He was a personage whose memory well deserves the respect of Englishmen. In his episcopal city of York he founded a considerable library, and formed, besides, a rising generation of scholars by giving literary instruction in person. A confirmed Protestant would, of course, be very well pleased with an opportunity of painting such a man as altogether in advance of his age, and consequently quite able to see the danger and folly of that servile deference for the papal see which was daily taking firmer root in western Europe. But such views are generally fallacious, and of Egbert nothing more is asserted in this case, than that his native sovereign desired him to seek the pall, which is a mark of deference to Rome, and one that had been paid by no bishop of York since Paulinus. Readers of the

¹ *Wisely, therefore, did Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims—one who knew full well the arts and temperaments of the Roman court, when Nicholas the First upbraided him with the privileges granted him by Pope Benedict, among which that stood out first, that he might use the pall every day — reply, that those privileges gave no right to him beyond that which the ancient canons give to metropolitans; but that he had sought these new decrees on this account, because the church of Rheims, being placed on the confines of two kingdoms, he wanted those privileges, that he might strike a terror into certain carnal and brutal men, with whom the old canonical constitutions had sunk into contempt.* De Marca, iii. 50.

Anglo-Saxon Church who look to the bottom of the page, may see the full authority there for these words. This authority shall now be brought forward in plain English. It is from Simeon of Durham, an author very likely to have known the truth; and it informs us that Egbert, *returning home after his brother's death, by the desire of Ceolfrid, then king, first after Paulinus, a pall being received from the apostolical see, was confirmed in an archbishopric for the Northumbrian nation.*¹ Surely this is evidence enough that Egbert acted by the king's desire. That he was very willing to comply, is highly probable; but Simeon of Durham says nothing of the kind. Undoubtedly, Malmesbury's account gives rather a different colouring to this transaction. The southern chronicler makes Egbert's application for the pall to have originated in the innate loftiness of his own spirit.² But the northern

¹ As the passage is not given quite at length in *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, though sufficiently to authorise the text, it may be desirable to give it here entire. "Iste siquidem Ecgbertus in infantia a patre Eata in monasterium traditus fuerat. Qui proveciori ætate cum fratre Ecgreto Romam profectus, diaconatus gradum suscepit, mortuoque ibi fratre, patriam reversus, regnante Ceolvulfo atque jubente, primus post Paulinum, accepto ab apostolica sede pallio, genti Northanimbriorum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est, et xxxii. annos tenuit." *X Scriptt.* 11.

² "From the narrative of Mr. Soames it would appear, not that Egbert sought the *pallium*, but that the pope forced it upon him, and at the prayer of the king. *He was chosen to the see of York, and Ceolwulf, who yet filled the throne, desired him to accept the complimentary pall—a mark of deference to Rome paid by no one of his predecessors since Paulinus.* (Soames, *History*, p. 104.) Of course, no authority is given for this statement, which, if Malmesbury's account be true, must certainly be fabulous. He tells us that Egbert was very ambitious of the honour, and, being a man of spirit, *animosioris ingenii homo*, succeeded by dint of importunity and perseverance: *pallium multa throni apostolici interpellatione reparavit.*" (Lingard, i. 79.) The passage that precedes the statement of Egbert's spirit is to this effect, that the other prelates of York who followed Paulinus, contented with the simple name of bishop, desired nothing higher. *Cæteri post eum tantæ urbis præ-*

chronicler makes it originate in the king's desire. We have no means, unquestionably, of knowing whether Simeon was not a fabulist here. But it is the same with Malmesbury. In making choice, therefore, between the two authorities, their antiquity being about equal, a writer who takes and cites the one best situated for information, may wonder what could give occasion for charging him with producing no authority at all, and seeking currency for fables. It may be added, that Egbert does not appear to have gone to Rome for the pall. Alcuin speaks of it as sent to him.¹ This was overlooked when the third edition of *The Anglo-Saxon Church* was prepared. *Seek* was then substituted for *accept* in the account of this transaction. An apology is now offered for this error; which seems to have been suggested by the usage that prevailed in after times, of going personally to Rome for the pall.

Egbert's acquisition of a pall makes one think of a similar distinction gained by Lichfield. The abilities and successes of Offa had rendered Mercia the most important kingdom of the Heptarchy. But ecclesias-

sules, simplici episcopi vocabulo contenti, nihil altius anhelarunt. Malmesbury then attributes, in the words quoted above, the desire of this higher dignity to Egbert's own disposition. But Simeon of Durham attributes it to the king. The latter statement may fairly be preferred as coming from the party more likely to be well informed, and as being more honourable to the character of a very valuable man. As for Malmesbury, though he is a very important writer, his disposition was to uphold all those importations from Rome which came over into England after the Norman conquest. Hence he sometimes both suppresses and colours to serve his party. We should, probably, be able to detect more of these blemishes in him, if our knowledge were greater of the times and persons that fill his pages. The last edition of *The Anglo-Saxon Church* has *seek* instead of *accept* "the complimentary pall."

¹ "Hic ab apostolico humeris fert pallia missa." *De Pontiff. et SS. Eccl. Ebor.* 1279, *Opp.* ii. 254.

tically it remained under the metropolitical see of Canterbury. Offa bore this impatiently. He might undoubtedly, as we find it suggested, have been chiefly made uneasy by a sort of patriotic pride, which would not let him rest without seeing Mercia, like Northumbria, owning no metropolitan but her own.¹ As this is a suggestion, unfortified by reference, it might hastily be taken for one of those historical inferences which are sometimes called draughts upon the imagination. But in this case the reins have not been given to fancy. An ancient author tells us, that *Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, was laid before King Offa, under some very strong accusations: of which one was, that Canterbury was too near to the realms of Charles over sea. To which Charles, even before the treaties were made, the same Lambert had promised, that, if he should come to Britain for a hostile ingress, he would find free entrance into his archbishopric, favour,*

¹ "The success of Egbert awakened the hopes of other parties. If the Northumbrians were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Kentish bishop, why should not the Mercians? Such, we may suppose, was the reasoning of Offa, the powerful king of Mercia, who, in addition to the suggestions of pride, had personal causes of displeasure against Jaenbyrct, the metropolitan of Kent, whom he suspected of being secretly leagued with Charlemagne, in opposition to his interest." (Lingard, i. 80.) It will be seen from the next note, that these are the views taken in the ancient *Life of Offa*; but they do not stand there in a neighbourhood which a papal advocate would approve, the reflection upon Rome's mercenary character being immediately below them. Can this be the reason why the learned historian, in note 2. upon p. 80., cites a portion of the extract which forms the next note of this work, but stops short of the hit upon Rome? Not only was Offa's money agreeable at Rome, but his power seems also to have been dreaded there. "The notion of Offa's great influence at this time, entertained by Pope Hadrian, was grounded more on the suspicion that the king of Mercia was desirous to instigate the Frankish monarch to cast him from the papal chair, than on the splendour attending his many victories over his countrymen." (Lappenberg, i. 233.) The authority cited for this is an epistle of Adrian's in Bouquet, t. v. p. 589.

*and help. Besides, it was King Offa's persuasion, that where he had gloriously triumphed over his enemies, on that very spot or near there ought to be a cathedral place, distinguished with due reverence by an archbishopric and primacy. He therefore sent to Pope Adrian, then presiding, with whom King Offa had been, from his supereminent sanctity, on the most friendly terms, discreet and well spoken messengers, recommended by honour and favour, besides being provided with means for making presents. For the king knew what the Romans longed for.*¹ The writer of Offa's life, from which this extract is translated, is not certainly known; but his work has the recommendation of antiquity, and is ordinarily found in the same volume with Matthew Paris. If that free-spoken monk did not write it, we must at least suppose the reflection upon Roman covetousness to have been borrowed from him. Honest old Matthew has left so many testimonies to the sordid character of papal interference, so far as he had any means of knowing, that Baronius and other Romish authors have represented it as likely that his text has been interpolated by the Protestants, who are, according to custom, called heretics. But,

¹ "Accusatus est autem Lambertus, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, coram rege Offa, accusationibus pervalidis. Quarum una fuit, quod Cantuaria nimis vicina fuit regnis Karoli transmarinis. Cui, etiam ante contracta fœdera, promiserat idem Lambertus Karolo, quod si hostiliter ingressurus Britanniam adveniret, liberum in archiepiscopatum suum introitum inveniret, favorem et adjutorium. Præterea persuasum erat regi Offæ, ut, ubi gloriose de inimicis suis triumpharat, ibidem vel prope locum, cathedralem archiepiscopatu et primatu reverenter merito foret sublimandum. Misit igitur ad papam Adrianum, cui rex Offa fuerat propter supereminentem sanctitatem amicissimus, nuncios discretos et facundos, honore atque favore condignos, insuper donativis conferendis præmunitos. Noverat enim rex desideria Romanorum." *Vita Offa Secundi*, Lond. 1639, p. 21.

as Isaac Casaubon, remarking upon this charge, in the preface to his animadversions on Baronius, very well asks, *If to deprave old books be a certain mark of heresy, what impudent man will be bold enough to deny, that those are most certain heretics who now-a-days, by so many arts, mutilate, deprave, expurgate the old fathers?*¹ By this test, however, Matthew Paris will convict no man of heresy. The faithfulness of his printed text is indisputable, and it establishes completely the mercenary character attributed by Englishmen to the papacy, in the thirteenth century. Authority of that date is undoubtedly far too recent for proof of Offa's mode of dealing with Rome. But William of Malmesbury confirms the Mercian king's biographer, though with an evident wish to spare the papal see. He admits that, perhaps, gifts as well as letters were employed in seeking pontifical sanction for giving Mercia the distinction of an archbishopric.²

¹ "Si libros veteres depravare certa est hæreseos nota, quis tam impudens erit qui negare audeat, certissimos illos esse hæreticos qui tot hodie artibus veteres patres mutilant, depravant, expurgant?" Casaubon adds that it is easy to prove the nefarious war waged by framers of expurgatory indexes, with all authorities that are ancient and good. Nor will he acquit Baronius himself of having depraved passages in his *Annals*, to make antiquity favour the papacy. Watts has prefaced his valuable edition of Matthew Paris, with numerous other passages relating to that important author, both from Protestants and Romanists.

² "Simul regnum Merciorum archiepiscopatu insignire affectans, epistolis ad Adrianum papam, et *fortassis muneribus egit*, ut pallio Licetfeldensem episcopum contra morem veterum efferret." (*De Gest. Pontiff. Scripto. post Bed. f. 113.*) It will appear pretty clear from the passage in Offa's biography, extracted in the next note, that Malmesbury and that biographer must have used some common source. He was thus under the necessity of saying a word about the mercenary character attributed to Adrian's act. In his *Gesta Regum*, however, he drops the gentle *fortassis*, which qualifies the mention of Offa's presents, and paints Adrian as surprised into an improper concession, by the inability to consider every thing carefully which necessarily flows from a great

Offa's biographer makes no doubt of the matter, but says plainly, *The king earnestly required, and by giving some presents obtained, that, contrary to the old approved custom, he (Adrian) should constitute Ealdulph archbishop of Lichfield.*¹ How kind it was of a first-rate Romish historian to spare the sigh which might have involuntarily risen from one of his own communion, on any mention of Offa's money in this transaction. Those who believe in St. Peter's popedom, and its descent upon the series of popes, need not be crossed in reading what is told by their great English historical authority of the Lichfield pall, by any disagreeable suspicion that filthy lucre had something considerable to do with gaining it.

Offa, however, in spite of his Roman fame for *supereminent sanctity*, seems to have been of Matthew Paris's opinion, that the *apostolical see fails nobody who freely gives his money.*² Still, he could not carry his point without preliminary forms. They were necessary, both to give him legal sanction, and to keep up appearances. For these purposes, a council was holden at Calcuith, a place not certainly identified. It is called a *legatine council*, from the presence at it of Gregory, bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, bishop of Todi, who had come from the pope. Whether they

press of business. *Through Adrian, the apostolical, whom he had long wearied with specious assertions (as many unlawful things can be gained and purloined from occupied minds), he obtained that the archbishopric of the Mercians should be at Lichfield.* Ed. Hardy, Lond. 1840, i. 119.

¹ "Postulavit igitur rex instanter, et nonnullis datis muneribus impetravit, ut contra veterem consuetudinem approbatam Ealdulphum archiepiscopum constitueret Lichefeldensem." *Vita Off. Sec. ut supra.*

² "A sede apostolicâ, quæ nulli deest pecuniam largienti." *Hist. Angl.* Lond. 1640, p. 155.

came by invitation, or not, is unknown. Their object, we are told by Florence of Worcester, was *to renovate the faith which Augustine had preached*.¹ They were first received, and with great civility, by Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury. From him they went on to Offa, who was much delighted at seeing them.² That he would be so, they were, probably, very well aware before their journey was undertaken. From his court, Gregory, with Wighod, an abbot sent over with the legates by Charlemain, went into Northumbria. For any thing that appears, the legates took no part in domestic disputes, but merely recommended a strict adherence to the canons and morality. They did not use a tone of authority, but one of persuasion.³ At Calcuith, very warm debates arose on the Lichfield case.⁴ Offa found a great deal to say against Lambert, and in favour of his own scheme for a new archbishopric. But Lambert seems to have struggled violently for his rights, pleading numerous

¹ "Anno gratiæ 789, Adrianus papa legatos misit in Britanniam ad fidem, quam Augustinus prædicaverat, renovandam." There are different dates assigned, namely, 785, 787, and 789. The middle date is the most probable.

² "At ille cum ingenti gaudio suscepit." (*Proem. ad Adr. Pap. Spelman. Concc. 292.*) This *great joy* is put upon his reverence for *St. Peter, and the pope's apostolical position*, "ob reverentiam beati Petri, et vestri apostolatus."

³ "Therefore we advise (*suademus*), that the synodal edicts of the six general councils, with the decrees of the Roman pontiffs, be often read with attention, and that the ecclesiastic state be reformed according to the pattern prescribed there; that so no novelty be introduced, lest there be a schism in the church of God." (*Johnson, Collect. of Eccl. LL. &c. Lond. 1820.*) The legates commence by talking of their appearance at Calcuith as merely *admonitory*; "*admonentes*" is their word.

⁴ "A litigious synod was holden at Chalk-hythe." (*Ingram's Sax. Chr. 78.*) "In synodo litigiosa quæ apud *Chealchite* celebrata est." *Act. Pontiff. Cant. X. Scriptt. 1641.*

papal edicts, both old and new.¹ Nothing, however, as might be expected in a contest between parties so unequally matched, was found of any service to the weaker one. The discomfited archbishop, accordingly, was driven to acquiesce, and he resigned his metropolitical jurisdiction over Offa's dominions, and with it the property there, settled upon the see of Canterbury, which the Mercian king had sequestered. There is no evidence of any share taken in Lambert's business by the legates. Johnson considers them to have declined all interference with it, because they had no commission for any such purpose.² Undoubtedly, their errand required considerable caution. England, like other countries, required a gradual training for papal legations: but the age of them was now close at hand, and it was plain, that if western Europe would endure them, they must very much tend to aggrandise

¹ *Wherefore he (Offa) at length deprived Archbishop Lanbriht, wearied with many labours, and bringing forward frequent edicts of the apostolic see both new and old, of all the estates which were within his own boundaries, and of jurisdiction over the bishoprics.* (Malmesb. *Getsa*, R.R. i. 119.) In this contest Lambert is sometimes said to have spared neither labour nor expense, but at other times his resistance is described as negligent and lukewarm. Spelman, 303.

² "It is possible that this project (the Mercian archbishopric) was started in this council, between the king and the English bishops, either before the legates entered, or rather after they had left, it. The legates, probably, having no commission to hear this matter, refused to meddle with it." (*Collect. of Eccl. LL.*) But it is also possible that accounts of any concern taken by the legates in this case have been allowed to sink into oblivion, because Offa's arrangement lasted only for a very short time, and formed a very unsatisfactory subject of contemplation for admirers of Rome, in spite of the deference for a pope displayed in it. The Council of Calcuith, it is to be observed, was very much of a tool in Offa's hands. *In that council also Offa, that very powerful king of the Mercians, made his first-born son Egfrid to be solemnly crowned for king, which very pious and most nobly spirited young man reigned with his father to the end of his life.* Flor. Wig. 145.

the Roman see.¹ Their first steps towards the importance which they eventually gained were made in a very modest manner. Legates did not act like ostentatious, haughty masters, and abstained from demands upon the purses of those to whom they were sent. Golden legations were the fruit of after times, when western Europe had pretty well forgotten ancient habits, and was become unwilling to resist or question any thing that bore the impress of Rome.²

Little as is recorded of the debate which deprived Lambert of his property and Mercian suffragans, it is at least clear that he defended himself upon canonical grounds: his pleadings were however, of course, pronounced insufficient at Rome. Otherwise the new archbishop of Lichfield would not have been gratified

¹ *Thus far antiquity. Now a new face of things will offer itself to us, since, after the power of the Roman name was unfolded and spread abroad in the minds of races and nations, all things were habitually done by means of legates, who, as their own wills determined, both built up and pulled down those things which it seemed best either to build up or pull down. — First, therefore, it is to be noted, that, although the authority of the legates of the apostolical see was formerly great, it was not however so unrestrained and free as it was after the times of Charlemagne, when it was come to Nicholas I. De Marca, ii. 622.*

² *Then it should be known, that the coming of legates into provinces was not formerly even of the least expense to the inhabitants, but in the last times a law was made by which it was provided, that legates should have not only a necessary, but even a liberal, supply for their expenses from those to whom they were sent: that compensation, which was called a procuration, was moderate at the beginning; afterwards, by the vice of the human mind, it grew out of size, so that not only were provinces exhausted, but also the money was squandered in an offensive and discreditable manner, for the pride and pomp of the legates. Nay more, sometimes even the Roman pontiffs, to gratify their favourites, and give them an opportunity of making money in a short time, provided them with a legation, and sent them, under authority of it, into provinces that were opulent and inclined to obedience; by which it came to pass, that men who came to provinces poor and needy, being suddenly made rich, very soon gave them up, so that they seemed to have come for nothing else, as Ivo of Chartres hints, than to rob the provinces under the shadow of a legation. Ibid. 623.*

by a pall. Offa seems to have considered this as a recognition, and nothing more. The Peterborough Chronicle says that he obtained a pall to *complete* his new archbishop's *dignity*.¹ But when death removed, as it soon did, all the principal actors in this transaction, Adrian's conduct was unceremoniously placed in lights far from favourable. Malmesbury pronounces the treatment of Lambert *a great iniquity*.² The respectable contemporary authority of Alcuin makes Lichfield's brief distinction to have come *from no reasonable consideration, but from a sort of eagerness for power*.³ Kenulph, king of Mercia, who applied for the restoration of Canterbury to its former privileges, lays Offa's act upon *hostility to Lambert and the Kentish people*.⁴ Offa had invaded Kent, and with complete success, but Lambert had naturally enough taken part with his own countrymen against him. This the haughty conqueror could never forgive. Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, who regained all that his predecessor Lambert had lost, says, that

¹ "Rex Merciorum Offa archiepiscopatum Dorobernensem in Licitfeld transferre gestiens, ab Adriano papa etiam pallium in plenitudinem dignitatis impetravit Adulfo ibidem præsidenti." *Chron. Angl. Petrib.* Lond. 1845, p. 8.

² Kenulfus, rex Merciorum, ejus (Athelardi) et Eanbaldi, Ebor. archiepisc. monitis, *quantum nefas antecessor comisisset edoctus.*" *De Pontiff. Scriptt. post Bed.* f. 113.

³ "Non rationabili, ut videtur, consideratione, sed quadam potestatis cupiditate." Epist. 60. ad Athelard. Archiep. Cant. App. i. 80.

⁴ Propter inimicitiam cum venerabili Lanberto, et gente Cantuariorum acceptam." (Kenulfus Rex Merciorum Leoni sanctæ et apostolicæ sedis Romanæ pontifici.) (Malmesb. *Gesta*, R.R. i. 123.) This view, Kenulph represents as *notoriously* correct: introducing it by *ut scitis*. He expressly disclaims, however, all intention of throwing blame either upon Adrian or Offa, professing a belief that both are now triumphing in the glorious termination of their Christian life upon earth.

Offa's conduct in the Lichfield case was bottomed in *very great fraud*.¹ Such views are very little creditable to Pope Adrian. They make him out as either open to undue influence, or duped. He does not, indeed, shine much in history. His concern with the image-worshippers at Nice prevents that, and his connection with Offa is any thing rather than a help to him.

But neither this pope's character, nor Offa's, would, of itself, gain much attention from modern times. Lichfield's evanescent honours would stir no controversy, did they not involve a view of the papal interference in England, which is unfavourable to Romish divinity. This requires the bishops of Rome to be represented as a sort of ecclesiastical autocrats, whom Christians, all over the West, at least, implicitly obeyed, from the days of St. Peter to those of the Reformation. The autocratic series, however, ought properly to begin from Gregory VII., which is too late for Offa by more than two centuries. Undoubtedly, preparations for that pontiff's enterprises were making over much of the intervening time. But Offa's days heard only the note of preparation. Hence Protestant inquirers may excusably look upon references to Rome, during the Mercian conqueror's vigorous rule, as rather made for advice and information, than for a judicial decision: this view of the Lichfield case, upon one account, is rather favourable to the see of Rome. Although Romish partiality may say nothing of Offa's

¹ "Offa, rex Merciorum, in diebus Jaenberhti, archiepiscopi, cum maxima fraude honorem et unitatem sancti Augustini, patris nostri, in Dorovernensi civitate, dividere et discindere præsumpsit." *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, Lond. 1839, i. 224.

money in carrying his point, yet inexorable history will persist in telling the tale. Now able canonists at Rome, as well as elsewhere, were likely to decline work, unless they could be adequately remunerated. Hence Offa, in furnishing his agents with liberal supplies, may be represented as above the meanness of wishing to give trouble, without first providing a royal compensation for it.

The son crowned by Offa's desire, at the Council of Calcuith, within four months followed his father to the tomb. Monkish biography might attribute, naturally enough, *supereminent sanctity* to a prince like the great Mercian conqueror, who founded such an abbey as that of St. Alban's, and closed a life of sanguinary ambition by some ostentatious acts of formal piety. But Alcuin was contemporary with Offa, and could not shut his eyes to the crimes that he had committed. He treats, accordingly, his son's premature decease as a judgment. Egfrid, he thinks, was not cut off *on account of his own sins, but because his father shed a great deal of blood to establish himself on the throne.*¹ Hence Alcuin sees in the promising young prince's mournful fate, a providential exemplification of the principle, that a father's ill deserts are often visited upon his family.² On Egfrid's death, Kenulph, a distant relation, was placed upon the

¹ "Non arbitror quod nobilissimus juvenis Egbertus propter peccata sua mortuus sit, sed quia pater suus pro confirmatione regni ejus multum sanguinem effudit." This is an extract from a letter of Alcuin's to Egbert, the patrician. The whole letter is not extant. Malmesb. *Gesta RR.* i. 130.

² "Non enim sine causa nobilissimus filius illius tam parvo tempore vixit super patrem: sæpe merita patris vindicantur in filiis." Alc. ad Coenulf. R. Mercc. *Opp.* i. 229.

Mercian throne, and he occupied it with great ability. Monkish history speaks more highly of him than of Offa, because the latter prince, though a suitor to the pope, the founder of St. Alban's, and eventually a conspicuous devotee, made inroads upon ecclesiastical property, when it suited his purpose.¹ Kenulph, on the contrary, seems to have been ever intent upon standing well with the clergy.² He was not, probably, without an eye to his own interest in the various acts which won their good opinion. It is at least clear, that Athelard, now Archbishop of Canterbury, became willing to render him services of a substantial character. The royal family of Kent, like that of Mercia, had dwindled down to remote collaterals; and one of these, named Edbert, or Pren, who had entered into orders, obtained possession of the throne. After a reign of three years, he was vanquished, and taken prisoner, by Kenulph, who ordered, it is said, his hands to be chopped off, and his eyes to be put out.³ As to the execution of this

¹ *When I consider his deeds*, Malmesbury says, *my mind hangs in doubt whether I should approve, or disapprove*. He afterwards compares Offa to Proteus, from the variable character of his reign, which extended over thirty-nine years, and was diversified by displays of cruelty, violence, rapacity, fraud, and superstition. This last feature in his chequered character would, no doubt, have gone a great way towards making Offa more of a favourite with Malmesbury, had he not, among other liberties taken with churches, laid his hands upon an estate belonging to Malmesbury abbey itself. This property, after his death, was restored by Egfrid his son, at the exhortation of Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, who is believed to have been abbot of Malmesbury. So that Athelard's connection with the Mercian court began almost immediately on Offa's demise. Malmesb. *Gesta RR.* i. 118. 130.

² Malmesbury pronounces him *a particularly great man, whose virtues outwent his fame, and who never did any thing that ill-nature could safely carp at*. *Ibid.* 130.

³ *Eadbert, king of the Cantuarians, was taken at the same time,*

atrocious order, nothing is recorded; but Kenulph is loudly praised for an ostentatious manumission of the unfortunate Pren, to grace the dedication of the church at Winchcomb Abbey, which he had founded.¹ In the Mercian invasion of Kent, a figure, very far from creditable, is made by Athelard, the archbishop. He recovered, in consequence of it, what his predecessor Lambert had lost. Nor is it favourable to the reputation of Leo III., now pope, who offered, on Athelard's representations, to excommunicate Pren, as an apostate ecclesiastic, who should be expelled from the throne.² The Kentish people, however, were

(that of Kenulph's invasion), *whose eyes the king of the Mercians ordered to be plucked out, and his hands mercilessly cut off.* (Sim. Dunelm. X. *Scriptt.* 114.) The Saxon Chronicle makes this cruelty to have been permitted, and not enjoined. "The Mercians seized Edbert Pryn, their king, led him bound into Mercia, and suffered men to pick out his eyes, and cut off his hands." Dr. Ingram says of this passage: "This wanton act seems only to have existed in the depraved imagination of the Norman interpolator of the Saxon annals." Langhorne, after mentioning the authority of Simeon of Durham and Hoveden, for this order, says, *which penalty, however, they no where assert to have been really inflicted on him.* Nor, indeed, could cruelty of this kind upon a prostrate prince consist with the piety, clemency, modesty, and other virtues, which almost all our writers attribute to Kenulph. (*Chronica. R.R. Angl.* Lond. 1679, p. 312.) This is, however, a fallacious inference. Kenulph invariably stood well with the monks, who alone wrote history.

¹ Malmesb. *Gesta R.R.* i. 131.

² Leo thus writes to Kenulph:—"Now, about that letter which *Ædelheard*, most reverend and most holy, sent off to us, as your excellency desired, after giving it that second reading which it merited, we plainly returned for answer to his holiness, that, thinking that apostate clergyman who had ascended to the throne like Julian the transgressor, we anathematise and reject him, from care for the safety of his soul. If, therefore, he should still persist in his wicked action, you ought quickly to let us know, that we may send an apostolical admonition to the whole body, as well princes as every people living in the island of Britain, that they may expel him from his most iniquitous throne, and provide for the safety of his soul." (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 460.) The whole Lichfield case is an instructive commentary on the rise of papal influence, and no member of it is more so than this letter of Leo's. An ambitious

not only enraged by the miseries which Kenulph's hostilities brought upon them¹: they became also completely alienated from their own archbishop. Hence Athelard found it necessary to flee the country, and Pren's expulsion from Kent has not escaped censure as an injustice.²

It is obvious enough that a pope, lending himself to Kenulph and Athelard, was likely to get some apparent concessions from them. Such Leo really did get, but so mixed up with matter of a different kind, as to render them of but little real value in papal controversy. They will not serve it, even temporarily, without skilful use of Kenulph's letters to the pope. If this be read, without a previous bias, it is very likely to be thought little more than an application for the solution of a canonical difficulty. Protestant inquirers, being deficient in the necessary bias, have drawn their conclusions from the whole Mercian letter; and have, accordingly, represented it as written for able advice, not for a judicial decision. Rome was undoubtedly the principal seat of information in Western Europe, and her unapproachable

king wants to render unpopular a neighbour whom he wished to subdue, and gets that neighbour's principal ecclesiastic, who wanted a restoration of power and property, to seek his condemnation at Rome. The pope goes quite as far as the applicants desire, if not farther; not merely anathematising the party singled out for a victim, but likewise declaring himself ready, if called upon, again to take measures for de-throning him, by exhortations addressed to the entire inhabitants of Britain. In the conspiracy of these selfish men nothing is more disgusting than the religious cant employed.

¹ Simeon of Durham says that they were *miserably pillaged, and all but utterly destroyed*. *X. Scriptt.* 114.

² Henry of Huntingdon says that Egbert recovered Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, *which formerly his relation Pren had unjustly lost*. *Scriptt. post Bed.* f. 197.

superiority in this respect was fortified by a traditional degree of reverence, which made people willing to respect whatever bore the stamp of her authority. Hence Kenulph begs for a kind answer from Leo, *lest the sanctions of antiquity should be transgressed through ignorance.*¹ He says, *that the bishops, and all the best-informed people in England pronounced the division of the province of Canterbury into two provinces, uncanonical and inconsistent with Gregory the Great's arrangements.*² He therefore begs Leo to investigate the matter with his wise men, *as the gift of wisdom bestowed upon him by God would well enable him to do, and kindly to write back what the case should seem to require, as a guide for the country in future.*³ Such language is not very consistent with

¹ "Ne sanctorum traditio patrum, et ab illis tradita nobis regula, quasi incognita, per aliquod vitietur in nobis." Malmesb. *Gesta RR.* i. 122.

² "Pontifices nostri, ac peritissimi quique in nobis dicunt, quod contra canones, et apostolica statuta, quæ nobis a patre beatissimo Gregorio dirigente statuta sunt, sicut vos scitis, auctoritas Dorovernensis metropolitani in duas scindatur parochias." *Ibid.*

³ The original of this passage is worked up in the following paragraph of Sir Roger Twisden's, which the reader may be glad to see entire :—"If recourse were had to Rome it was only *ut majori concilio decidatur quod terminari non potuit*, as to the more learned divines, to the elder church, of greatest note in Europe, by whom these were converted, and therefore more revered by this, as that was most solicitous of their well-doing, and most respected for their wisdom. All which is manifest from that humble letter, Kenulphus and others of Mercia wrote, about 797, to Leo the III., wherein it plainly appears he seeks to that see for direction, because the conversion of the nation first came from thence, and there resided in it men of sound learning, whom he doth therefore desire as *quibus a Deo merito sapientiæ clavis collata est, ut super hac causa*, (which was the placing an archiepiscopal chair at Lichfield,) *cum sapientibus vestris quæratis, et quicquid vobis videatur nobis postea rescribere dignemini*. By which it is clear his inquisition was unto persons of profound literature (had the key of knowledge conferred on them), not as to those who had authority over this church." *Historical Vindication of the Church of England*, Lond. 1675, p. 19.

an opinion on Kenulph's part, that Rome had any right to command. The king freely admits, however, her title to grateful deference, because she was equally the source of the pope's apostolical dignity, and of England's acquaintance with religious truth. For these reasons he thinks it fitting that the pope's holy orders should fall upon an ear of humble obedience, with a view to follow strenuously the course which they recommend, and to turn away from such things as have been found improper.¹ Still, it does not appear, even from this complimentary letter, that England habitually waited, in regulating her ecclesiastical affairs, for directions from Rome. Canterbury, it comes out incidentally, had been made an archiepiscopal see, by domestic authority, instead of London, which Gregory had meant for one. The English legislatures thought the place dignified by Augustine's burial, a proper see for his successors.² Of these various abatements, Leo took, as might be expected, no notice. Kenulph had said quite enough, in seeking the gratification of his archiepiscopal friend, to make the pope assume all that vanity and ambition might suggest. Leo treats, accordingly, the Mercian application as proof from a crowned head, that *no Christian presumes to contravene what a*

¹ "Quia unde tibi apostolica dignitas, inde nobis fidei veritas innotuit: quapropter opportunum arbitror tuis sanctis jussionibus aurem obedientiæ nostræ humiliter inclinari, et quæ tuæ pietati rite nobis sequenda videantur toto visu implenda; quæ vero rationi contraria deprehensa fuerint, citius declinanda, ac interim a nobis omnimodis rescandanda." Malmesb. *Gesta RR.* i. 121.

² "Visum est cunctis gentis nostræ sapientibus (a *witena gemot* seemingly, or more than one such assembly), quatenus in illa civitate metropolitanus honor haberetur ubi corpore pausat qui his partibus fidei veritatem inseruit." *Ibid.* 123.

pontiff sanctions.¹ In this case, he knew that no fault was likely to be found with him, unless among such parties as were absolutely powerless. Kenulph, who possessed great resources, had set his mind upon seizing Kent, and making Cuthred, a mere creature of his own², the nominal king of the country. Pren, whom birth had placed on the throne, in spite of a clerical disqualification, was to be driven out; no matter how the Kentish people liked him, and what amount of misery might fall upon them, in effecting his expulsion. Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, had opened a communication with the Mercian royal family, immediately on Offa's death³, and he soon

¹ "Interea credentes vestrae prudentissimæ excellentiæ, ubi ferebatur in ipsis tuis regalibus apicibus quod nostris apostolicis sanctionibus nullus Christianus contrarie præsumit." (Leo Papa Kenulfo R. Malmesb. *Gesta RR.* i. 125.) "The letters of Coenulf are described by Mr. Soames as an application to the pope to learn, *whether, in his opinion, and that of his wise men, the Saxon canonists had taken a correct view of the question.* (*Bampt. Lectures*, 174.) Yet the cases are proposed on the part of the king with a promise of obedience, a declaration that no man can dare to oppose the judgment of the pontiff, and an assurance that whatever the answer may be, it shall be carried into execution." (Lingard, i. 82. note.) The extracts from Kenulph's letter, which appear sufficiently to express his meaning, have been already given, and one of them, it may be seen, answers to the words printed above in italics. These words, therefore, are no inference of the author's, but a translation of a passage, cited in the *Bampton Lectures*, and understood, as has been seen, by Sir Roger Twisden, as the author understood it. As for the *declaration that no man can dare to oppose the judgment of the pontiff*, the original words of it begin the present note, and it will be seen, that they are not Kenulph's words at all, but the version which Leo chose to put upon them. This is a very different case.

² Kenulph speaks of him as *his brother* in a grant of lands. "Una cum fratre meo Cuthredo, rege scilicet Cantuariorum." *Cod. Diplom. Æv. Sax.* i. 216.

³ Malmesbury says, that Egfrid, Offa's son, kept clear of his father's overbearing temper, and restored all churches that had suffered by it, to their former privileges. *He also restored the estate that his father had taken from Malmesbury, into the hand of Cuthbert, then abbot of that*

showed himself willing to continue it with Kenulph, that powerful monarch's powerful successor, although bent upon the ruin of his own clerical sovereign. By siding with *him*, there could be no chance of recovering either the Mercian suffragans, or the Mercian estates. Pren, on Kenulph's accession, had already been two years upon the throne, and his party naturally expecting different conduct from Athelard, he found himself unable to remain in the country. For his restoration, Alcuin's great authority was put into requisition. That amiable and respected scholar intreated the Kentish people to receive their archbishop again, pleading that Augustine's see ought not to be unoccupied, and that no one could canonically fill it, while its proper occupant survived.¹ The facts of

place, by the exhortation of Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, a man truly energetic and worthy of God, whom constant opinion asserts to have been abbot there before Cuthbert. (Gesta RR. i. 130.) Offa died July 29. 796. Egfrid lived only four months afterwards.

¹ Malmesbury tells us, that Egfrid, Offa's son, would have restored Canterbury to its former state, had he lived. (*De Pontiff. Scriptt. post Bed.* 113.) Athelard's conduct with him might be unexceptionable, nothing more being attempted than to represent his father's act, in setting up an archiepiscopal see at Lichfield, as improper. But Kenulph was an ambitious, warlike prince, who wanted Kent for himself. If he, therefore, served Athelard, he expected Athelard, in turn, to serve him. The archbishop, accordingly, wrote to Pope Leo, and got the extant letter back which talks of excommunicating the king of Kent, and of stirring up the whole island against him. Such an archbishop must have been highly obnoxious to Pren's party. His withdrawal from his see, Alcuin was verbally informed by a servant (*præfatus mihi referebat puer*), was according to the advice of some clergymen (*secundum concilia sacerdotum Christi*). The step was advised, because some impious persons had seized upon the throne (*propter impios invasores regni*). These obscure expressions occur in a letter of Alcuin's to Athelard, and may mean, perhaps, that some of the archbishop's clerical friends recommended him to retire for a time, until something could be done with Pren, who might be, with all his abettors, compendiously designated *impious*, because he had seized upon a lay office after having taken orders. Froben, accordingly, the editor of Alcuin, supposes that Pren might be the chief among these *impious*

the case, therefore, appear to be, that a foreign prince, who devastated Kent, was favourably regarded by the principal ecclesiastic in the country, and when the latter became obliged to run away, he found the people cruelly plundered by his friend, not very willing to let him come back again. Besides, however, his natural desire for this, the victorious chieftain, with whom he was in correspondence, wished to reward him by restoring his province, and the revenues of his archbishopric, to their former dimensions. Consent from the regular national authorities, and popular acquiescence, were to be gained by means of the pope. Thus Leo's business was the swelling of his own importance, by throwing a papal mantle over the naked selfishness of two distinguished Englishmen. If, in doing them this favour, he talked a little more importantly than was either expected or desired, the parties whose ends were answered would find no difficulty in forgiving him. The Lichfield prelate's mouth was to be stopped by allowing him to wear the pall through life¹; and thus ended a series of transactions really most contemptible in themselves, but showing how powerful a use of Rome princes could make for their own purposes, whatever little coherence one man's purpose might have with another's. Aspiring spirits in their onward course take, how-

seizers. The letter before this to Athelard is addressed to the Kentish people, and it is evident, from its urgency, that a strong prejudice against their archbishop had been excited among them. Alcuin, however, merely uses the tone of a reasoner and suppliant. He says, *recall to you, if it seem fit to you, your bishop, Ædilheard. Epist. 59, 60. Opp. i. 78, 79.*

¹ This is Alcuin's proposal in his letter to Athelard, *ut supra*, 80.

ever, little notice of mere blemishes in their own policy. They can see nothing else in a concession gained from others, than a stepping-stone towards future acquisitions for themselves.

The reason why Kenulph's requital of Athelard occasioned so much trouble, might not only be because that prelate had made himself obnoxious in Kent, but also because Englishmen considered no authority of the Roman bishop as final in their own affairs. Hence the Peterborough Chronicle makes Athelard's restoration to have been Kenulph's act, by Pope Leo's *advice*.¹ The court of Rome knew well enough that *advice* of this kind requires to be cautiously given, or it will retard, instead of promoting, ambitious projects. There were, accordingly, many things done in settling the Lichfield case, of which obscure traces only remain, and which ancient authors have not sufficiently explained. In 796, Kenulph made his cruel invasion into Kent.² A letter of Alcuin's to Athelard, assigned with sufficient probability to the following year, not only expostulates with him for leaving his diocese, but also recommends him to deliberate upon the restoration of Canterbury to its former position, with the Archbishop of York, and others of the prelacy.³ This recommendation

¹ "A. D. 802. Kenwulfus, papæ Leonis *consilio*, Adelardo archiepiscopo Dorobernensi cuncta quæ rex Offa abstulerat, cum dignitate metropolitana, sedi Dorobernensi restituit." 10.

² *Sax. Chr.* 82.

³ "Bonum videtur esse cum consilio omnium sacerdotum Christi, et co-episcopi Eboracensis ecclesiæ deliberare." (*Epist.* 60. *Opp.* i. 80.) It is clear from Matthew of Westminster that by *sacerdotes* here, bishops are meant. It is curious that no notice appears to be taken of the Archbishop of Lichfield, yet papal authority had made him Athelard's co-episcopus.

seems to have been taken, and Athelard was thus fortified by the general authority of his brethren, in seeking the reduction of Lichfield to its ancient position.¹ He was furnished with letters to this effect, both from Kenulph and the prelates, which he determined upon presenting to the pope in person.² This determination Alcuin seems to have disapproved, but finding himself unable to prevent it, he offers his best wishes for its advantage to the church, and for the archbishop's safe return.³ The year assigned for his journey is 798. So far as papal approbation went, he had probably no reason to complain; but some unknown difficulties met him on his return to England, and in 799 he set out for Rome again.⁴ He

¹ "From this place, and from King Kenulf's letter to Pope Leo III.," says Alford, "it is clear enough that Ethelard called a synod of bishops before he set out upon his Roman journey, that what he should propose to Leo, he should speak not so much from his own mouth, as from the suffrage of all orders." Froben in Alc. Ep. 62. Opp. i. 84.

² Matt. Westm. 150.

³ Therefore I persuaded, in another of my communications by letter, your holiness to remain in your native country, being unwilling to have the light of Britain extinguished. But be it done as it pleases God, so that it profit the churches of Christ. May God make your journey prosperous, and having an angel of his for your companion, may he lead you and bring you back, most sweet and loving father. (Alc. ad Ethel. Archiep. Cant. Opp. i. 83.) Froben considers the other letter referred to as the 60th. But this can scarcely be. The 60th letter which has been already cited, is referred to 797, and expostulates with Athelard for leaving his see on account of some *impious persons who had seized the throne*: that is, as Froben very reasonably concludes, on account of Pren and his party. The letter from which the extract is translated, that begins this note is the 62d, and is referred by Froben to 798. It speaks, as will be observed, of a *journey*, and hence it seems reasonable to conjecture, that Athelard's journey to Rome, which took place in 798, must be intended, not his temporary withdrawal from Kent.

⁴ Sax. Chr. 83. No other companion is mentioned here than Cybert, bishop of Wessex. But Alcuin in his 174th letter, which is addressed to Eanbald, archbishop of York, says that Athelard had with him two bishops and two friends, who appear to have been Thanes, from his 64th letter, addressed to Charlemain.

was now accompanied by two bishops and two noblemen, and on crossing over he took up his quarters at a sea-side cell, or small monastery, called St. Judoc's, afterwards known as *S. Josse-sur-mer*, near Etaples, which Charlemagne had placed under Alcuin, on his return to the continent from England. Athelard had asked of that amiable scholar to send him thither a saddle. This request Alcuin not only granted, but he sent also with it his palfrey; wishing the archbishop to appear as persons of his condition ordinarily did in France.¹ This was not, however, done with a view to furnish him with means for making any display. Quite the reverse. Alcuin was evidently afraid of some disadvantageous impression upon the discerning mind of Charlemain, from the ostentatious propensities of his English friends.² This little escape may serve to qualify the conventional epithets habitually bestowed upon the archbishop, and to make us think him just the sort of person to struggle vigorously for himself. His journey now left him nothing to desire but the formal approbation

¹ These particulars appear from Alcuin's 173d letter, which is addressed to Athelard, and from Froben's note to the 174th letter, which is addressed to Eanbald. Upon the two journeys Froben gives an extract from Alford, which may be thus translated. *The Canterbury church had its dignity restored in this first embassy of Ethelard, but because new difficulties daily sprang up, the Roman see was appealed to again, and Ethelard repeated his journey to the city in the following year, 799.*

² *Keep them from using gold or silken dresses in the sight of our lord the king, but let them come in humble habit, according to the custom of God's servants, and go through all places with peace and an honest conversation: you know the manner and custom of this nation.* (Alc. ad. Ædilh. Archiep. Opp. i. 234.) Alcuin seems here to hint, that Athelard had gained an insight into Frankish habits and opinions by means of his former journey through the country.

of his countrymen, which, in due time, was regularly given in the Council of Cloveshoo. So many delays and formalities make very little for a belief in the papal authority over ancient England. But any one can see their bearing, who considers references to Rome as merely made for better information than could be found at home. Whatever gave occasion to them, there were some circumstances, contemporaneous, or very nearly so, which made Englishmen suspicious of the papal see. There is an extant letter from the whole prelacy of England to Leo III., declaring that enforced journeys to Rome for the pall were an injurious innovation, which had crept into use under cover of dissensions among crowned heads. Before such things were known, the prelates go on to say, holy popes acted upon our Saviour's admirable principle, *Freely ye have received, freely give*. Nothing could more effectually weaken simoniacal propensities, than thus to give God's gift, as he himself had enjoined, instead of selling it for money. Those who make such traffic of God's grace, may well fear what Peter said to Simon: *Thy money perish with thee: thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter*.¹ The

¹ "Item Albinus, vel Alquinus, maximus librarius, scripsit ad Offam, regem Anglorum, dicens; quod archiepiscopus ab archiepiscopo semper debeat ordinari, et pallium ei debere mitti a Domino Apostolico. Sed regum dissentiones hanc turbaverunt ordinationem; ita ut non potuit fieri quod fieri debuit; quamvis sancti canones firmissime decrevisset nunquam ob regum dissentiones ecclesiastica statuta violari debuisset. Tunc temporis impleverunt sancti et apostolici viri illud laudabile præceptum Salvatoris nostri dicentis, *Gratis accepistis; gratis date*. Tunc sine viribus elanguit simoniaca hæresis; quia non pecunia emebatur donum Dei, sed gratis, sicut ipse jusserat, donabatur. Timendum est tamen vendentibus gratiam Dei hoc quod Petrus apostolus Simoni dicebat, *Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditione; non est tibi pars neque sors in sermone hoc*." *Anglia Sacra*, i. 462.

papacy had, however, become too deeply steeped in worldly policy to take much heed of such plain-speaking. Its influence had lately grown enormously upon aid given to powerful men, and some selfish scheme or other could not fail to lay the great continually at its feet. Hence an occasional expression of popular disgust merely provoked a passing frown, and stored up information against some future difficulty. Leo's remonstrants, accordingly, left no impression upon papal councils. Journeys to Rome for palls were perseveringly enforced, until obligations were exacted and extortions used, which made all western Europe cry out, Shame!¹

¹ "But after the court of Rome began to raise to itself a revenue from other churches, this *pallium*, that was no other than a distinctive ornament, not to be paid for, began to be set at so immense a rate, that Canutus, going to Rome 1031, did mediate with John the 19th, that it might be more easy to his prelates: in which, though he had a favourable answer, yet in Hen. I., his time, it was so much, the archbishop of York could not pay the money without a heavy debt." Twisden, *Hist. Vindic. of the Church of England*, 44.

CHAPTER VI.

EQUALITY OF THE APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL.

Whelock's view of St. Peter's position. — Confirmed by Arnould, and other continental scholars. — Necessity of consulting Greek writers upon early papal affairs. — Difficulties in St. Peter's history. — Linus, apparently, first bishop of Rome. — The Apostles Peter and Paul joined on papal bulls. — Their bifestal day. — Their equality. — Rome's importance a key to her bishop's. — Also the apostolic origin of her see. — The patriarchal power attributed eventually to it. — Rome the burial-place of Apostles and Martyrs. — The falsified papal history.

As existing documents exhibit the Anglo-Saxon Church in amity with that of Rome, but under no subjection to her, papal advocates are very sensitive upon every question that may bring her claims fairly under consideration. Among their tender points is the Apostle Peter. About him they assume a great many things that are quite incapable of proof. One of these assumptions is, that all antiquity placed him entirely above every other apostle. It happens, however, that Whelock, the learned editor of Alfred's Bede, has placed him on a level with St. Paul. As that scholar's view has not only the recommendation of his own very competent judgment, but also of Anglo-Saxon citations to support it, others in the same line of literature have followed him. The whole have recently been treated with an air of supercilious disdain.¹ It being no hard matter to

¹ " Ipse potestatem ligandi et monarchiam solvendi in cœlo et in terra felici sorte et peculiari privilegio accipere promerent. (St. Aldhel.

put on such a face, its justification is rested on an Anglo-Saxon verbal criticism. Whelock, it is main-

ep. Geron. inter Bonif. p. 61.) It were easy to cover the page with similar testimonies ; yet several writers (Hickes, *Gram.* 20 ; Whelock, p. 237 ; Elstob, *Præf.* p. xl. ; and Mr. Soames, *Bampt. Lect.* p. 160.) pretend that the Saxons looked upon St. Paul as the equal of St. Peter. But where do they find St. Paul called *the head of the church, the prince of the apostles* ? Even the very best of the Saxon homilists, on which they chiefly found their opinion, cannot, if translated faithfully, afford them any support. *Paul is the thirteenth of this company. He was not bodily with Christ during the life of Christ ; but he was chosen afterwards from heaven, and is reckoned along with Peter on account of his many deservings and labours.* The word *ge-endebyrd* does not mean *made equal*, as they translate it, but *reckoned in the same number, or of the same order* ; that is, he is reckoned an apostle." (Lingard, i. 114. note.) Hickes's folio Grammar, p. 18., merely cites Whelock. The reference to Whelock's Bede is erroneous ; it ought to be 289. ; but it is to be hoped that any scholar, who has the book at hand, will turn to 237., a page which naturally haunted, and seemingly confused, the learned historian, from the complete rebuke that it gives to his theories. Mrs. Elstob merely translates Whelock, and the *Bampton Lectures* cite the passage from her. Thus this array relates to nothing but the correct rendering of *ge-endebyrd*, which shall be considered in the next note. The first passage in the present note the writer cannot trace, but is evidently of no importance. Of the other passages, cited by the learned historian in notes above on the same page, two in note 1. call St. Peter *the first pastor of the church*, and one of them calls him besides *prince or chief of the Apostles* ("principis apostolorum"). These are both from Bede. The citation in note 2. is from Aldhelm ; and it not only styles St. Peter *pastor of the Lord's flock*, but also *janitor of the heavenly court*. The latter idea seems have been uppermost in Aldhelm's mind, and the reader may remember that it is the notion which turned the scale at the conference of Whitby. In note 3. are three citations, two from Alcuin and one from an ancient anonymous life of Ceolfrið. The first citation from Alcuin says, indeed, that our Lord *made Peter head of the flock chosen by him*, and hence exhorts the York clergy to *seek eternal benediction* from him ; but it is not particularly favourable to the papal cause, for the writer uses this argument to make them *not despise the learning of the Ordo Romanus* ("Non despiciant Romanos discere ordines"). So that, in spite of current notions about St. Peter, it is clear that Alcuin's countrymen felt no slavish deference for the Roman see. In his second citation from Alcuin, (i. 134.) the learned historian seems to have made some mistake. The *pastor of all pastors* mentioned there is not St. Peter, but our Lord himself. Alcuin also talks of the *chief pastor*, and the *pastor of pastors*, but he means Pope Leo III. who was then under very heavy accusations, and whose cause he pleads in this letter. The last citation in

tained, has incorrectly translated a word. It is more easy to say so than to prove it. Placed where it is, the word in question seems scarcely susceptible of any other meaning than that which Whelock gives it. If St. Peter had been the only apostle when St. Paul became one, then the meaning which Romish controversy draws from this word, might be unexceptionable. But as there were already eleven other members of the apostolic body, Whelock very naturally thought of the term that has earnt him so much contempt.¹

note 3. is from some verses which Ceolfred put in a Bible that he meant to leave as a present in Rome, whither he was going to finish his days ; but he died at Langres, on the journey. The cited line merely expresses firm belief that St. Peter was the head of the church. The citation in note 4. is from a Saxon homily, which describes Peter as the *teacher and pastor of all faithful people*. Practically, these passages are of little importance, for whatever may be the latitude allowable for understanding them, they may only apply to privileges which died with St. Peter. But if we are to bring questions forward in this case, it may be asked, where do papal advocates find St. Peter called *the greatest soldier, and the highest of the heavenly army* ? This is, however, the way in which Gregory the Great, Bede, and Alfred speak of St. Paul. (See Whelock's *Bede*, p. 95.) As for *prince of the Apostles*, papal authority for giving him that title will appear hereafter.

¹ Whelock translates the homilist's words about St. Paul, *he is ge-endebyrd to Petre, Petro æqualis factus est*. The word *ge-endebyrd* literally means *put in a rank or order*. Now it will be seen that the homilist is not here speaking of a rank or order assigned to St. Paul with eleven of the Apostles, but only with the first, or twelfth, St. Peter. Mrs. Elstob translates the whole passage, "Paul is the thirteenth of this heap. He was not bodily with Christ, while he was alive, but he chose him afterwards from heaven, and he is ordained equal to Peter for his great merits and labours." It might, perhaps, be rendered with more literal fidelity, *he is put into rank or order with Peter*. But such language would be awkward, and amount, after all, to little or nothing else than that the two were equal, or thereabouts. It is perfectly obvious, that these two apostles are singled out by the homilist from the whole body of thirteen, for the sake of being placed in the same rank or order. The minute criticism, therefore, upon *æqualis factus est*, or *ordained equal*, really amounts to nothing. The passage will not admit of the construction put upon it by the learned historian. It does not assert merely that St. Paul was "reckoned an apostle." It declares him to have been reckoned *such* an apostle as St. Peter was.

He was not likely to have been led into any suspicion of incorrectness from the general stream of learning. He must have known perfectly well, that ancient authorities place Peter and Paul upon a level, in a manner that most moderns in the West little think. Hence when he saw the word which made him *pretend*, as it is civilly said, "that the Saxons looked upon St. Paul as the equal of St. Peter," not only the context, but also his general scholarship might well induce him to render it as he did. No doubt he wrote under a Protestant bias, and gloried in the privilege of having one. But if there had been no bias on the other side, his translation would, probably, have passed unquestioned. His view of the two great apostles is, in fact, not only countenanced by antiquity, but also by illustrious Romish authority of his own age. He must have been, therefore, strangely forgetful, had his version made Anglo-Saxon divinity do all, in this case that is wanted for that of modern Rome.

A very learned, acute, and pious French divine, who lived in the same century with Whelock, confirms his view of St. Peter and St. Paul. He makes these two apostles the eyes in our Saviour's head. In this figurative language he only followed antiquity, as was usual with him. But eyes in a head are equals. Hence the comparison could not be applied to the two apostles, without suggesting the notion of some equality between them. To disparage the suggester was an easy task. He was Anthony Arnauld, the well known Jansenist and irreconcilable opponent of the Jesuits, whose advocacy of outward forms,

instead of inward renewal, he denounced as a corruption of sound religion, and a falsification of antiquity. Popular as was the pliant divinity of Loyola's band, Arnauld's voice could not be raised in France without attracting great attention. Accordingly, his mode of mentioning the two saints, Peter and Paul, though only introduced, incidentally as it were, in a preface, was eagerly caught up. It soon occasioned a paper war, to the great disgust and alarm of the Roman court.¹ Arnauld was no deserter

¹ Arnauld, after mentioning St. Peter, says of St. Paul, *who is the other eye of Jesus Christ's head*, in the preface to his famous work, *De la fréquente Communion*, p. 22., which work is an attack upon the prevailing trust in confession, absolution, and communion, without internal renovation. This trust was much encouraged by the Jesuits, and Arnauld's book, which was first published in 1643, soon occasioned a violent ferment. It ran, however, through a great many editions. His opinion that the church had conjointly, for a head, St. Peter and St. Paul, was taken up in an anonymous tract, published at Paris in 1645, entitled, *De Auctoritate S. Petri et S. Pauli, quæ residet in papa, successore duorum illorum apostolorum*. This received three answers, which, in turn, provoked two more anonymous defences of Arnauld's principle. It is insinuated that all the three pieces favourable to him, might have come from his own pen. Be that as it may, the papal court became uneasy, and, in 1647, Innocent X. forbade the three offensive tracts by a decree of the Inquisition, and condemned as heretical the proposition, that the two apostles, Peter and Paul, were joint-heads of the church, without subordination and subjection of Paul to Peter in supreme power and government. "*Eo tandem revenit, ut Innocentius X. decreto S. Inquisitionis, anno 1647, et memoratos tres libellos proscripserit, et propositionem hanc, Petrum et Paulum esse duos Ecclesiæ principes, qui unicum efficiunt, eo sensu acceptam, ut ponant omnimodam æqualitatem inter Petrum et Paulum sine subordinatione et subjectione Pauli ad Petrum in potestate suprema et regimine universalis Ecclesiæ, ut hæreticam damnaverit.*" These particulars, which are taken from Fimiani's preface to the fourth volume of De Marca's works, show that Whelock knew well enough what he was about, when he considered an equality between Peter and Paul to be asserted by the Saxon homilist. It is true that his Bede was published in the same year with Arnauld's book, and consequently before the controversy to which that book gave rise. But the information brought forward by that controversy was not likely to have wholly escaped

from the Romish church, or even a lukewarm member of it. He did it eventually very efficient service, by a learned and elaborate defence of transubstantiation.¹ He attacked also some of the most prominent Calvinistic doctrines. His opinions, therefore, could make their way through any clamour against Jansenism. The public, in fact, will always think at last of what men say, not of those who say it. Arnauld's view, accordingly, of the two great apostles, obtained a prominence in France, which gave uneasiness to members of the established church in that country, from the numbers and activity of the Protestants there. It might evidently prove injurious to the Romish faith, if an opinion should gain currency, that St. Peter's position, and that of the Roman bishops, had been very generally misunderstood. De Marca took up his pen to prevent the public from thinking this. But although he wrote with that ability which was to be expected from such a man, and his work gave satisfaction to the pope, he admits that *Paul was truly and properly bishop of the Roman church*. Epiphanius, he adds, *plainly calls Peter and Paul Roman bishops*.² This admission has very much

notice from a person so learned, surrounded by the literary treasures of Cambridge.

¹ *De la Perpétuité de la Foi de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie*, published in 1669. Arnauld seems really to have written no more than the first volume of this famous work. Claude answered it. The second and third volumes appear to have been chiefly written by Nicole. Moreri.

² "Vere et proprie Paulus Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopus fuit. — Epiphanius disertè Petrum et Paulum episcopos Romanos vocat." (*Opp.* iv. 6.) According to a preface by Baluze, prefixed to the fifth volume of the learned archbishop's works, De Marca wrote by the desire of Innocent X. That pope was much pleased with his tract, which is entitled

taken from the value of De Marca's advocacy in the eyes of papal partizans. His concession, however, abundantly shows, that Whelock and others have been condemned in too great a hurry. There is evidently room for the enquiries of persons unfettered by Romish prejudices, preferments, or expectations. They are amply justified in probing the history of St. Peter, and the nature of that apostle's connection with Rome, a little more deeply than may suit advocates of the Latin system.

Such enquirers will soon discover, that in this case, as in many others bearing upon ecclesiastical history, Greek and Latin authorities do not give exactly the same testimony. Upon most questions of great interest and high antiquity, there are unexceptionable Greek documents which supply important qualifications to the views that would naturally flow from Latin documents alone. One instance of this is found in the connection of the apostles Peter and Paul with Rome's episcopate. Latin writers generally make the series of Roman bishops to have originated with the former apostle only; Greek writers derive it from the two apostles conjointly. There was, indeed, one Greek writer, early in the third century, named Caius, who took, it seems, the Latin view; but he is said to have been a presbyter of the Roman church, and if so, he was unlikely to express himself in such a manner as had become unusual among members of that religious

De singulari primatu Petri; but Fimiani finds fault with it, because he concedes a Roman episcopate to St. Paul. This concession from such a quarter is a plain proof, that, however favourable may be their dispositions towards the Romish system, men of erudition and candour cannot see their way very clearly up to St. Peter and his popedom.

body to which he belonged.¹ Even he makes, however, in another place, the Roman Church to have been founded by the two Apostles. Hence his incidental mention of the episcopate, as first occupied by St. Peter alone really amounts to very little²; and he was the only author among the Roman clergy, during the first three centuries³, who touched upon the Church's episcopal succession. We have scarcely any information, therefore, positively of the best kind, as to the papal see in its earliest stages; and of the few particulars which are preserved, there is no reason for preferring those that come to us in Latin. Should jealousy or envy of the Roman Church be suspected in Greek authors, the same cautious principle must lay Latin authors under a suspicion of undue par-

¹ Caius, indeed, wrote in Greek against Artemon, and only named Peter from whom the succession is derived; but he was a presbyter of the Roman Church, as the ancients testify. The Latin Fathers, however, do not name St. Paul here, but seek the origin of the succession from the ordinance of Peter only. (Pearson, *De Serie et Successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum*. Lond. 1687, p. 30.) "Eusebius and S. Jerom tell us plainly that he was a priest, and that he lived in Zephyrin's time. But they do not say that he was a Roman. His treatise was composed in Greek: Photius is the first, who affirms expressly that he was a priest of the Church of Rome; and he adds that he was ordained bishop of the Gentiles." (Du Pin, *New Eccl. Hist.* i. 86. note.) Cave refers Caius, or Gaius, to 210. The next note will show him to have been at least familiar with Rome.

² "But I can show," says he, "the trophies of the Apostles: for if you will go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian road, you will find the trophies of those who have laid the foundation of this church." Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 25. Engl. transl. Lond. 1843, p. 105.

³ No one, nurtured by the Roman Church, is known to have written any thing regarding this matter (the episcopal succession,) in the first three centuries, except Caius, whom we know to have written in Greek, although he was a presbyter of the Roman Church. (Pearson, *De Serie*, 135.) What Caius said upon this matter is preserved by Eusebius, (*Eccl. Hist.* v. 28.) and is merely this, "Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop of Rome from Peter." (Engl. transl. 243.) The author cited is not expressly named, but he was evidently Caius.

tiality. Such a principle, however, may easily be pushed so far as nearly to dry up the sources of historical inquiry. Bishop Pearson very well observes, that some of the best authorities for ancient Roman civil history are found in Greek, and that if every thing, no otherwise preserved, is to be pruned away, Livy himself would shrink at once into very moderate compass.¹ But no one thinks of dealing thus with civil history. Nor will ecclesiastical records bear such treatment unless they are merely used for party purposes. The truth can only be found by those who will fairly and sufficiently compare one class of documents with another. The Greek must be confronted with the Latin, and in this way only can difficulties be cleared up, errors corrected, partial statements modified, and omissions supplied. Upon this principle, history has of late generally been written, and no department of it more than Romish history. Baronius would fain weaken the force of Greek testimony, when adverse to papal principles, by claiming a superior credibility for Latin writers in cases more immediately affecting Rome.² So an advocate of the English Reformation might wish to look no farther than

¹ "Ut igitur Græci, quales erant Polybius, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Plutarchus, et Dio Cassius, optime historiam Romanam digessisse creduntur, neque Romanorum quisquam cum iis conferendus, esse videatur, qui exteri erant. Adeo ut *Livius ingens pellibus exiguis arctari* facile potuisset, si illa exciperentur, quæ ex Polybio aliisque Græcis scriptoribus hausit." *De Serie*, 136.

² Pearson, *De Serie*, 135. The learned bishop remarks, that Baronius himself has by no means observed this rule. In fact, although, when authorities are contemporaneous, those that are domestic require the first consideration, they may often be advantageously corrected and explained by those that are foreign. But in the case of St. Peter's connection with Rome, there is no Latin authority contemporary with Irenæus, and he was not a contemporary of the Apostles.

Burnet, and such authorities as are most in favour with him. But modern times have sought information from a wider field. In our new Romish history of England, Le Grand and other foreign authors have been freely used. Nor, in widening thus the field of historical inquiry, can readers who seek to know the truth deny their obligations to an author. From foreign sources only can sometimes be learnt particulars which make domestic testimony completely intelligible. In other cases, alien authorities are either useful in lowering the colouring of interested parties, or in showing that adversaries free from local influences could bring no charges really worthy of regard.

It is pretty clear, that so early as the fourteenth century at least, there were inquirers who denied that St. Peter ever was in Rome at all.¹ After the Reformation, though not latterly, many scholars took up that opinion.² There are, in fact, no certain means of proving the Apostle's Roman residence from Scripture, and other authentic records to prove it, of a date sufficiently high, do not exist. Additional weight is given to these difficulties by St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which is referred by Burton to the year 53,

¹ *The first, so far as I know, who taught that blessed Peter neither was bishop of Rome, nor even ever saw Rome, was one William, preceptor of John Wickliffe, as Thomas of Walden relates. Bellarmin. De Rom. Pontif. Controv. i. 231.*

² *It is to be observed, that there are four things which are called in question: first, whether Peter was ever at Rome: secondly, whether he died at Rome: thirdly, whether he was bishop of Rome: fourthly, whether he never changed the Roman bishopric after he had undertaken it. (Ibid.)* The last of these questions arises from a difficulty in St. Peter's history, provided that he came to Rome and was bishop there in the year 44. It is clear that he must have gone elsewhere after that year.

but by Pearson to the year 57.¹ The Apostle closes it by many salutations, but one to St. Peter is not among them. He opens it by expressing himself desirous of *imparting some spiritual gift* to the Roman Christians², which they could have scarcely wanted, had St. Peter's ministry ever been exercised among them. St. Paul too says, in a different part of this epistle, that his habit was to seek new places for his evangelical labours, *lest he should build upon another man's foundation*.³ Hence, it is reasonable to infer, that certainly so late as the year 53, no Christian minister of transcendent eminence had been at Rome. Learned Romanists have, however, inferred, and from Scripture, that St. Peter was there nine years before that time. Their object in fixing thus upon the year 44, is to make up the twenty-five years which have been commonly assigned to his Roman episcopate. His martyrdom has been fixed so late as the year 69, but it must have occurred earlier.⁴ At all events, to make out his five and twenty years at Rome, he could not have gone thither subsequently to the year

¹ *An Attempt to ascertain the Chronology of the Acts, &c.* Oxf. 1830, p. 84. Pearson, *Annales Paulini. Opp. Posth.* 15.

² Rom. i. 11.

³ Rom. xv. 20.

⁴ "Baronius states the question thus: *Peter came to Antioch, Anno Christi 39, and was bishop there seven years, that is, till the year of Christ 46. And then he says that from Antioch Peter went to Rome, and sate there bishop five-and-twenty years; that is, till the year 71. And so, by his own account, Peter must be bishop of Rome two years after he was dead; for the same Baronius tells us that Peter died Anno Cristi 69.*" (Barlow, *Brutum Fulmen.* Lond. 1689, p. 100.) Bp. Pearson places the martyrdoms of the Apostles Peter and Paul in February, 68. This appears not an improbable date; but Cave considers 65 more probable. Eusebius is the original authority for 69. (Pearson, *Opp. Posth.* 25. Cave, *Antiq. Apostol.* Lond. 1836, i. 172.) Dr. Burton considers it to have "happened at some time between the years 64 and 66." *Chron. of the Acts*, 104.

44. In that year, accordingly, Baronius and Romanists ordinarily represent him to have written his first epistle.¹ This purports to be despatched from Babylon², and by that word, many commentators have thought Rome was meant. That opinion mounts up, as is inferred from Eusebius, to Papias, bishop of the Phrygian Hierapolis, in the second century, and most of the Fathers have acquiesced in it.³ But even

¹ Whitby.

² 1 Pet. v. 13.

³ Eusebius really does not speak very positively. He relates in his *Ecclesiastical History* (lib. ii. c. 15.) that Clement attributes the origin of St. Mark's Gospel to the wish of St. Peter's Roman hearers for a written account of the facts detailed by that Apostle. Peter was pleased at this, and, under heavenly guidance, dictated to Mark, Papias, the historian, adds, confirming this account of Clement's, and says that *Peter mentions Mark in his first epistle, which, they also say, that he put together in Rome itself, and that he signifies this thing by calling the city rather figuratively, Babylon.* (Συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ (Clement) ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης ἐπίσκοπος, ὀνόματι Παπίας. τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ἣν καὶ συντάξει φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ' αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσειπόντα. (Edit. Vales. 42. Amst. 1695.) This language scarcely goes beyond the echo of a prevailing report or opinion. Bp. Pearson, however, takes it as absolutely spoken; so does Bellarmine, but then the cardinal gives the passage in Eusebius thus: *Papias et hoc dicit, quod Petrus in prima epistola sua, quam de urbe Roma scripsit, meminere Marci, in qua tropice Romam Babylona nominavit, cum dicit, Salutat, &c.* (De Rom. Pontiff. 231.) Valois thus translates Eusebius here: *Cui (Clementi) testis etiam accedit Papias Hierapolitanus episcopus. Porro Marci mentionem fieri aiunt a Petro in priore epistola, quam Romæ scriptum esse contendunt, idque Petrum ipsum innuere, qui Romam figurate Babylonem appellat his verbis, Salutat, &c.* By introducing the words *aiunt* and *contendunt* here, this excellent scholar has materially qualified his author's sense, and very much reduced the whole to what the French call an *on dit*, which really seems to be the force of the original φασίν. But whatever might be the case with Papias, so early as Jerome's time, Babylon, in this text, was considered to mean Rome, and Tertullian remarked that it does so in the Apocalypse. This is evident enough, and Protestants have commonly explained the fact, by considering Babylon as the head-quarters of the old patriarchal apostasy, and Rome the head-quarters of the modern Christian apostasy. Bellarmine explains it by saying, that the figurative Babylon of Scripture does not mean the Roman Church, but the Roman

if Papias be correctly understood here, he is also an authority for the millennium, and was notorious in ancient times for a gossiping credulity, which caused him to be charged with want of judgment.¹ Internal evidence, besides, is adverse to a belief that St. Peter's first epistle was written in the year 44. There is a passage in it, adverting, as it seems, to the destruction of Jerusalem as near at hand², which it was not in that year. There is likewise plainly no necessity for understanding the term *Babylon* in any mystical sense. The famous Babylon in those days appears to have still retained some faint shadow of its former self. Jews lingered yet about it, and among its mouldering ruins usually resided an hereditary patriarch whom all of their nation in the eastern regions obeyed.³

empire, as it existed in scriptural times. Old Babylon was a persecutor of God's ancient people, and imperial Rome was a persecutor of the rising Christian Church.

¹ The thirty-ninth chapter in the third book of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* is taken up with an account of a last book written by Papias, and this is by no means favourable, either to that very ancient author, or to unwritten tradition. The historian speaks of Papias, as professing himself to have been chiefly intent upon hearing what the Apostles thought and said from those who personally knew them, and hence to have set many things afloat of a fabulous character. *He appears, indeed*, the historian says, *as one may judge from his writings, to have been very little in understanding* (σφόδρα σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν). His millennial speculations are explained upon the principle that he took literally what apostolical writings mean figuratively; and the authority that he gained is attributed reasonably enough to his high antiquity. There is, indeed, in the thirty-sixth chapter of this third book of Eusebius a short but high commendation of Papias. It seems, however, to be an interpolation, as Rufinus has nothing of the kind in his translation, and Valois says that it was wanting in his MSS. *Annotaciones in Hist. Eccl. Eus.* 49.

² 1 Pet. iv. 7.

³ De Marca, iii. 6. The learned archbishop thinks, accordingly, St. Peter to have written from the famous ancient Babylon. Scaliger had likewise thought so, and De Marca considers the epistle to have

Peter, therefore, as the Apostle of the circumcision, was not unlikely to have sought for converts in this wreck of Eastern greatness, and from it might have written his epistle. There was, however, another Babylon, named after the great Chaldean Metropolis, which appears yet far more likely to have been the spot whence the Apostle wrote. This was an Egyptian town, from which the modern Cairo has arisen. It was built by some emigrants from the mighty Babylon, who received permission to settle there from the Egyptian government, and in Strabo's time it was a place of sufficient importance to be made the headquarters of one of the three legions stationed in Egypt.¹ As this town was at no great distance from the confines of Palestine, it probably contained a considerable Jewish population, and was therefore likely to be visited by the great Apostle of the circumcision. Of St. Peter's presence in Alexandria no doubt is entertained in any quarter, and from it the see established in that city became honourably distinguished as apostolical. The first of its bishops was Mark the evangelist, whom St. Peter, in his first epistle, calls his son, and who joins him in his salutations from Babylon.² He might seem to have written that epistle for the purpose of communicating with Jews dispersed in provinces, which he had no prospect or intention of personally visiting. He has, indeed, been said, and by ancient writers, to have gone into these

been primarily meant for those Jews who lived in the provinces which looked for the chief direction to the Babylonish patriarch.

¹ Strabo, xvii. Lut. Par. 1620, p. 807.

² 1 Pet. v. 13.

regions, but such statements appear unable to bear the test of a sufficient inquiry.¹

From Egypt, St. Peter probably passed over to Corinth. He was, undoubtedly, in that city², and was likely to consider it his duty to go thither, as the place contained many Jews.³ From Corinth, he seems to have gone to Rome, where again was a large body of his countrymen. The silence of St. Luke forbids us to place his arrival in that city before the year 58.⁴ From Rome, undoubtedly, St. Peter might have written his second epistle, and accordingly, Babylon may after all be a mystical term. But there is no obvious occasion for such a metaphor here, and by taking the Egyptian town for the place intended, St. Peter's history may be consistently arranged. We know him to have been at Antioch and Corinth, where

¹ Bp. Pearson cites Philo to prove that Jewish colonies had been placed in the countries to which St. Peter writes, and he wholly dissents from the statements of Jerome and Epiphanius, that the Apostle had ever personally visited those regions. Internal evidence is favourable to this dissent. St. Peter seems to have written no great while before the destruction of Jerusalem, and not to congregations which we are nearly, or quite certain, that he visited, but to bodies of Jewish converts, at a distance. By addressing these he took notice of his whole charge. The more important portions of it received oral instruction from him: the less important heard from him by letter.

² 1 Cor. i. 12.

³ *After Alexandria, and Antioch, and Babylon, Peter visited Corinth, which Philo numbers among the colonies of Jews dispersed over Europe.* Pearson, *Opp. Posth.* 58.

⁴ Dr. Burton gives good reason for placing St. Paul's first visit to Rome, in 56. It has been more generally referred to 61, and by some critics to 63. After St. Paul had come to Rome he was permitted to live there two whole years in a house that he hired. (Acts, xxviii. 30.) This residence closes the sacred history; but no mention is made of St. Peter. Nor is any trace of him to be found in the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon, which appear to have been all written during St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. It should be observed that Dr. Burton places our Saviour's birth two years before the commencement of the vulgar era.

there were many Jews, and have every reason to believe that he visited both Alexandria and Rome, where also were large numbers of the Israelitish race. At no great distance from Alexandria is Babylon, whence he might seem to have addressed such bodies of his countrymen as he was forbidden by his own age, and their distance, to think of visiting in person. That his days were finished in Rome is rendered all but certain by a great weight of unexceptionable testimony. But since Scripture supplies no means of proving the fact, and other authorities, however ancient and consistent, are not near enough to render it indisputable, it can challenge no higher ground than very strong probability. Even this ground, however, cannot be taken for St. Peter's lengthened residence in Rome. On the contrary, it seems that Origen's account is true, which makes him to have come thither at a time when his life was drawing to a close.¹ He probably never saw the overgrown seat of imperial greatness before the Christian faith had been rooted pretty firmly there, especially by the powerful agency of St. Paul. Some foundations of the Roman Church might have been laid very early. "Strangers of Rome"² were among the visitors to Jerusalem when St. Peter made such a deep impression upon those whom amazement brought under the range of his plain holy eloquence, on the great day of Pentecost. If any of these persons were converted, they were pretty sure

¹ "We can safely grant the main of the story, that St. Peter did go to Rome, and came thither ἐν τέλει, as Origen expressly says he did, about the latter end of his life, and there suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ." Cave, *Lives of the Apostles*, i. 183.

² Acts, ii. 10.

to have sown the seeds of their new faith in the mighty capital. In this way St. Peter may be considered as the origin of Roman Christianity. But unless others, with such personal opportunities for the purpose as known facts make us deny to himself, had zealously followed up any impression that he might have made, when St. Paul wrote, Roman Christianity would not have attracted notice, as we know it had, over all the empire.¹

But although we have powerful reasons for believing that St. Peter visited Rome, and was martyred there, the case is widely different as to his alleged episcopate in that city. The earliest author that says any thing upon the matter is Irenæus, and he makes Linus the first bishop of Rome. The Church there, he says, *was founded and built up by the blessed Apostles, who put the ministry of its episcopate into the hands of Linus.*² Who these *blessed Apostles* were, Irenæus had already indicated, by speaking of *the very great, and very ancient, and universally known Church, founded and constituted at Rome by the most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul.*³ Epiphanius makes these Apostles concurrent bishops.⁴ Eusebius does nothing of the kind. He makes Linus the first bishop after Paul and Peter.⁵ Evidently,

¹ Rom. i. 8.

² Θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι Ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. Ap. Pearson, *Opp. Posth.* 28.

³ "Maximæ et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis Apostolis, Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ." *Ibid.*

⁴ Ἐν Ῥώμῃ γὰρ γεγόνاسι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ Ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, εἶτα Λίνος. *Ibid.*

⁵ At this (time) Clement still presided over the Romans, and he occupied the third step among those who had the oversight of this (Church) after Paul and Peter. For Linus was the first, and after him Anen-

therefore, the father of ecclesiastical history here, like other Greeks, did not mean to rank the two Apostles as Roman bishops at all; a circumstance rather embarrassing to papal partisans, as is also that he names Paul before Peter. His very learned and candid editor, Valois, assumes that he makes both Apostles bishops, and explains the position given by him to Paul's name, both there and elsewhere, by saying that *the more honourable persons are often named in an after place*.¹ If the excellent annotator had said that such persons generally came towards the end of a procession, there would have been more truth in his observation. And as for the order in which St. Peter's name stands, one Romish argument in favour of his pre-eminence is, that he is expressly named first in St. Matthew's list of the Apostles, as well as in other scriptural places²; and it certainly is the general usage of writers to give the most honoured names precedence. With respect to the

cletus. (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 21. p. 73.) A similar passage is in the first chapter of Eusebius's fourth book.

¹ "Duo hic observanda sunt; tum quod Paulum Petro præponit Eusebius; tum quod utrumque urbis Romæ episcopum facere videtur. Quod ad primam quæstionem attinet, etiam alibi id ipsum fecit Eusebius. Non tamen existimandum est, Paulum idcirco anteferri Petro. Sæpe enim honoratiores posteriore loco nominantur." *Annotations in Hist. Eccl. Euseb. Cæsarien.* 44.

² Another prerogative of Peter is, that when the Apostles are named by the Evangelists, either all or some, Peter is always put in the first place. (*Matt.* x. 2, &c. *Bellarmin. Controv.* i. 230.) The cardinal says that this could not have been done, because Peter was first called: Andrew was that: Peter's age has been suggested as another reason why he might have been named first. But Bellarmine objects that a tradition, preserved by Epiphanius, makes Andrew the older. As for Peter's greater moral excellence, the cardinal observes, that St. Matthew could not certainly have known that, although he knew that Peter was a married man, but John a virgin, and besides *the disciple whom Jesus loved*. Thus Peter's marriage was a fault.

double episcopate, Eusebius here evidently makes neither Apostle a bishop; and Valois says in the same note, that *it was by no means his practice to reckon up the Apostles in the order of bishops*.¹ For this a reason may readily be conjectured. The Apostles might think themselves more useful in travelling about from place to place, and organising Christian congregations where they could, than in undertaking personally the care of any particular Church. We can scarcely put any other construction upon St. Paul's conduct; and of his proceedings infinitely more is known than of any other Apostle's. Nor are we without reason for assigning similar views to St. Peter. He was not idle in Judea, and we know him to have been both at Antioch and Corinth. Nor is there any sufficient reason for doubting that he was also at Alexandria and Rome. He has been thought likewise to have laboured in Asia Minor and the neighbouring regions. His way of life, therefore, seems to have been exactly that of one who settled churches, and then left the management of them to others in whom he discerned a fitness for the purpose. In settling the metropolitan church of Rome, he seems not only to have been assisted, but also preceded, by St. Paul. By that Apostle, accordingly, the *Apostolical Constitutions* make Linus, the first bishop of Rome, to have been ordained. It is true that nothing can be certainly concluded from a document which all the world allows to be apocryphal. But certainty in this case is unattainable, and, as the *Constitutions* are un-

¹ "Sciendum est Eusebium Apostolos in ordine episcoporum minime numerare." *Annotat. in Euseb.* 44.

questionably of high antiquity, they are good evidence of traditions, opinions, and usages received among Christians at some very early period. Now, the writer of them clearly traces the foundation of the Roman Church to St. Paul, and not St. Peter, for he says that it was the former Apostle who ordained its first bishop. The second, we are told by the *Constitutions*, was Clement, whom St. Peter ordained after the death of Linus.¹ These very ancient statements will, at least, prove that current Romish opinions of the papal see's origin rest on questionable grounds, and that inquirers who represent St. Paul as a co-founder of that see, if not more, have reasons for their opinion which need not shrink before a smile or sarcasm. The Roman Church was, indeed, a religious body made up of both Pagans and Jews, and was therefore, properly, perhaps necessarily, formed by the united labours of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and the great Apostle of the Circumcision. That either of the two undertook its bishopric, or principal ministry, is evidently as unlikely, as it is unsupported by the earliest evidence. Tertullian, Cyprian, and other Latin Fathers, it is true, place Peter in the see of Rome, but none of them wrote sufficiently early to overthrow the Greek testimony, and a wish to use it for keeping down opponents led them to make much

¹ Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Λίνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας πρῶτος ὑπὸ Παύλου· Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν Λίνου θάνατον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου δεύτερος χειροτονήσεται. (*Const. quæ Trib. Apost.* vii. 47. Labb. et Coss. i. 452.) Bp. Pearson considers Linus to have presided over the Church of Rome from the year 55 to the year 67, and to have been succeeded in that year by Anencletus. This prelate, he thinks, to have lived only two years, when he was succeeded by Clement. (*Opp. Posth.* 168.) It is needless here to discuss these questions.

of Rome's episcopate. Our own Alcuin, however, who lived long after that episcopate had attained very great importance, and who himself deeply venerated it, applies a principle to Crete which is just as fit for explaining the first Christian organisation of Rome. *An apostle's dignity, he says, required him to lay the foundation, like a wise master-builder, and to leave the building upon it to his disciples.*¹

That St. Peter was not the only *wise master builder* who thus left a foundation for building up the Roman Church, is attested even by the bulls, or leaden seals which its bishops appear to have adopted in the eleventh century. These impresses of contemporaneous thought confirm Irenæus, and other Greeks, who make the Roman Church to have been built upon the labours of St. Peter and St. Paul conjointly. First the names, afterwards the figures of both Apostles are found upon the papal bulls, with a cross between them, and, what has occasioned no small amount of mortified and embarrassed speculation, St. Paul is placed upon the right hand. Various modes have been taken for explaining away or neutralising the effect of this venerable arrangement.²

¹ "Apostolicæ dignitatis fuit fundamentum ponere, sicut sapiens architectus, Titi vero et aliorum discipulorum superædificare." *Opp.* i. 652.

² Montfaucon attributes the names of the two Apostles on papal bulls to Urban II. (1088.) Subsequently, the figures, that is, heads with *S P A* and *S P E* over them respectively, were introduced. Examples of both may be seen in pl. 51. p. 447. of that very learned writer's treatise *De Re Diplomatica*. But the figured example there gives St. Peter on the right hand. Of the reasons assigned for the ordinary position of the two figures, many are rather subtle than solid. Fimiani has managed the difficulty best, in his preface to the fourth volume of *De Marca*, where he shows from Italian examples, older than the eleventh century, that some uncertainty anciently prevailed in this case, the two Apostles being

Be the value of such theories respectively what it may, the papal bulls are quite sufficient, at all events, to countenance those inquirers who consider St. Peter and St. Paul as upon a parity. Such as take this view can have no reason to shrink before an expression of disdain. They can easily show Whelock to have written advisedly, nor need Arnauld, when he shakes ordinary delusions upon the Apostle of the Circumcision, be timidly given up as a Jansenist. It is plain that neither of these eminent scholars talked at random, when even papal Rome herself sealed her most solemn documents with figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, side by side: nay, as remote antiquity prescribed¹, with St. Paul on the right side. Who

not invariably placed as they are in the papal bulls. Bellarmine strives to make people think that St. Peter's place in these might be intended for the more honourable of the two. But the following account from Matthew Paris will show that such an impression did not prevail in the thirteenth century. At a legatine council holden in St. Paul's, London, in 1237, Cardinal Otho, the legate, having the Archbishop of Canterbury on his right hand, and the Archbishop of York on his left, attempted to reconcile the latter to his position, by saying: *In the bull of my lord the pope stands an image of Paul on the right of the cross in the middle of the figured bull, and of Peter on the left; yet no contention ever arose between those great saints, for they are both in coequal glory. Still, on account of the dignity of Peter the key-bearer, and the pre-eminence of his apostleship, to say nothing of the dignity of his see, and the priority of his calling, his image, it seems, would be rightly placed on the right of the cross. But because Paul believed in Christ, whom he never saw, he is figured on the right; for blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed. So my lord of Canterbury, the primate of all England, who presides over also the most ancient and noble church of Canterbury, and that of London too, which is St. Paul's, is not without reason to be placed on the right.* Matth. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* 447.

¹ Into this place comes the celebrated controversy, for what reason on the papal bulls St. Paul is exhibited on the right, St. Peter on the left. Nor is this a recent invention, for the same order of the two is observed in very old representations, as prove not only a great many ancient figures, but also Peter Damiani (1057), who put forth a little work upon this thing. (*De Picturis Principum Apostolorum.*) From images

would not expect a papal bull to represent St. Peter standing proudly by himself upon a rock? It might be natural enough to introduce, some how or other, a prominent figure of the Virgin Mary. But surely, if St. Paul, or any other Apostle, was to show his head, it could only be in the back ground upon a very diminished scale. Fortunately, however, for keeping truth among men, very old bodies are cramped by very old remains and formalities. Hence they find themselves continually denied the combined advantages of immemorial prepossession in their favour, and convenient inventions gradually brought forward as weak or interested men found a temptation to them, or an occasion for them. Papal advocates, accordingly, have been driven to rack their brains for one reason after another, to keep the very bulls of their own Church from standing forth as witnesses against them.

They will meet, however, another of these witnesses in the services by which the martyrdoms of the two Apostles were anciently commemorated. On a single anniversary, hence called by Prudentius *a bifestal day*¹, both were duly celebrated by the Roman Church. For this a reason has been found in the tradition which makes both Apostles to have suffered on the same day of the month, but in different years. However true these things may be, it is clear that a common day for honouring the two martyrdoms must

this fashion came into bulls. Mabillon. *De Re Diplomaticâ*. Lut. Par. 1709, p. 130.

¹ "Hæc didicisse sat est Romæ tibi: tu domum reversus, *Diem bifestum* sic colas memento." — *Peristeph.* xii. 65.

have suggested some notion of an equality between the holy sufferers themselves. Gregory the Great gave them two days, but not with a view of keeping down any such notion ; only because he found it too fatiguing to officiate at different churches on the same day.¹ As tradition placed the two martyrdoms in different parts of Rome, a church was erected in commemoration of each, on the spot which it had consecrated. Thus, any opinion of equality which the old *bifestal day* might have fostered, remained unaffected by Gregory's innovation until human memory became unaware of it. Now this could scarcely have happened among the best-informed Anglo-Saxons. We cannot wonder, therefore, that ancient England looked so much up to the great Apostle of the Gentiles as to *mislead* Whelock, (if Romanists may be believed,) into placing him upon a level with the great Apostle of the Circumcision.

Nay, our Anglo-Saxon fathers, in some respects, thought of St. Paul more than of his illustrious Roman co-adjutor. People reckoned upon going to judgment behind their spiritual guides, and accordingly expected the great Apostle of the Gentiles to *lead forth almost all the world*. St. Peter's ship, which many moderns consider as typical of the papacy, passed among the Anglo-Saxons for a type of that

¹ "Transtiberina prius solvit sacra pervigil sacerdos,
Mox huc recurrit, duplicatque vota." — Prudent. *Peristephh.* xii. 65.

"Romanus pontifex primus illis sæculis una eademque die pontificias functiones in utraque basilica exercebat. Cum hoc autem, propter nimiam locorum inter se distantiam, non sine nimio ac intolerabili fere labore perfici posse videretur, consultius visum fuit hanc mutare consuetudinem. Sanctus Gregorius papa primus diversis diebus hæc festa celebravit." — *Ed. Delph.*

Jewish minority which joined the Christian Church.¹ Those who know facts like this, must suspect such representations of St. Peter as were gradually elicited by attempts to rear an ecclesiastical monarchy upon that apostle. They can even cite the great fountain-head of papal controversy, Bellarmine, as an authority for styling St. Paul *prince of the apostles*²; and can show that learned cardinal's inability to make out a case of disparity between him and his illustrious co-founder of the Roman Church.³ They can extract, besides, from the mighty Romish controversialist, passages of high antiquity which show the fathers to have considered St. Peter and St. Paul as equal to each other.⁴ Nay, they can appeal to the interested fictions of papal romance. When Adrian I., who procured, by countenancing the deuterio-Nicenes, a long respite for paganism in the Christian Church, was writing for that unhappy purpose to the vicious empress-mother and boy-sovereign of Constantinople, he garnished his

¹ *Paulus theoda lareow thær læt forth fornean ealne middan-eard. — Petrus scip getacnode thæt Judeisce folc the gewændon to Criste. — Wheloc. in Bed. 289. 257.*

² *As Peter is called prince of the apostles, because he was made head and pastor of the sheep: so Paul may be called prince of the apostles, because he filled most excellently the apostolic office. (Controv. i. 228.)* When, therefore, it is asked, *where do they (Whelock and others) find St. Paul called the prince of the apostles?* it may be answered, *in Bellarmine.*

³ *And perhaps the ancients kept to this on purpose, that of the two highest apostles, first one, then the other should be put first: for the sake, namely, of signifying in that way, that these apostles were either equal, or at all events, that it was not known which stood before the other. — Controv. i. 228.*

⁴ Bellarmine cites a passage from St. Maximus, which says of the two apostles, *between them which should be placed first is uncertain*; and another passage from St. Gregory, which pronounces the apostle Paul brother to Peter the first of the apostles in the apostolic chiefdom, "in principatu apostolico." (*Controv. i. 229.*) In Suicer's *Thesaurus*, under the head Παῦλος, more and better authorities for this are to be found.

epistle with an apocryphal tale about Constantine's conversion. This his ingenious, but mendacious, authority attributes to a dream, in which two august personages were seen, whom the emperor took for gods, but who proved to be the apostles Peter and Paul.¹ While so much evidence is to be found in every considerable theological library, that St. Paul was a leader in establishing the Roman Church, literary men may fairly be excused in placing him upon a level with St. Peter. Nor are they to be summarily dismissed, even if considering him as possessed originally and long, of greater eminence than the Apostle of the Circumcision in Christian Rome. There is really so much reason for believing these things, that one may wonder at papal advocacy, when it provokes inquiry into the relative positions of the two great apostles. But recent events have produced surprising changes. We have lately heard anticipations of masses, that is, of communions, with lookers-on, but no communicants, in Westminster Abbey. Those who dream of seeing the Holy Supper thus abused in that venerable pile, must reckon upon some strange

¹ This idle tale may be seen in Sylvester's epistle, among the authentic acts of the second Council of Nice. (Labb. et Coss. vii. 101.) It is too long and worthless to be extracted or translated. Its object is to make out that images were used in the church from the days of the apostles: it being in Sylvester's power to show contemporary likenesses of St. Peter and St. Paul to Constantine; who immediately recognised them as the parties whom he had seen in his dream, and whom he took for gods. All this is well enough for Adrian, whom Nice has irretrievably disgraced, and for such a forbidden, senseless, debasing superstition as the religious veneration of images. This pope speaks of *the blessed princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul*, at the close of his letter to Charlemain, in defence of the deuterio-Nicenes; but, at the beginning of it, he speaks of Peter as *prince of all the apostles*.—Labb. et Coss. vii. 915. 963.

oblivion in the public mind. No such perversion can take place, until people shut up the Bible, and let themselves be driven blindly onwards by any religious current that happens to set in strongly. Then England might, indeed, become so generally enamoured of medieval barbarism, as to make her fall out with nothing that bears the stamp of Rome.

St. Peter's episcopate in that city being incapable of proof and at variance with probability, other grounds must be sought for explaining the Roman see's early influence. In finding such grounds there is no difficulty. The very great importance of Rome, it is perfectly obvious, must soon have given the Christian congregation there unusual weight. Even so late as the eighth century, people looked with wonder on the splendid residences in Rome, and Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, speaks of that place as *the head of all cities*.¹ In ages long before, when it still was the imperial abode, innumerable visitors were constantly flocking into it, either for business or pleasure, from all parts of the civilised world. Provincial Christians could not fail of using such opportunities to solve any doubts or terminate any disputes that might have arisen among themselves at home. These references would naturally place the Roman Church above any one elsewhere, independently of all other causes for gaining it pre-eminence.

Of concurrent causes no one acted more powerfully

¹ *But about this also with which you would reproach me, that I prefer the roofs of the Tours people defiled with smoke, to the lofty homes of the Romans adorned with gilding.* (Alcuin to Charlemain. *Opp.* i. 138.) "Pervenire ipsam quoque Romanam civitatem, quæ caput est omnium civitatum." — Usser. *Vet. Epist. Hibernic. Syll.* 43.

than that Rome was an apostolic see, and, moreover, the only see so recommended in all the West. Now this was a recommendation which carried so much weight as to make it very early a controversial weapon of considerable importance. The various heretics, finding themselves unable to maintain their opinions by Scripture, charged it with insufficiency. Sometimes they represented the apostles as imperfectly informed; at other times, as having forborne to communicate indiscriminately all that they knew.¹ These

¹ "Solent dicere non omnia Apostolos scisse; eadem agitant dementia qua rursus convertunt: omnia quidem Apostolos scisse, sed non omnia omnibus tradidisse." (Tertullian. *De Præscript. adv. Hæret.* c. xxii. *Opp.* 334.) When the apostles were charged with defective knowledge, ignorance of the Gnostic system seems to have been chiefly meant. A scriptural ground for this charge was found in Paul's reproof of Peter's timid dissimulation. (*Gal.* ii. 12.) But this is evidently a mere personal question unconnected with Peter's religious information. Tertullian very well says that such as built heretical arguments on this fact, ought to show that Paul reproofed, because he brought forward *a form of the Gospel* different from that with which Peter was hitherto acquainted. (c. xxiii.) For the imperfect revelations of apostolical Scripture, the heretics alleged the very texts which have been cited for the same purpose by traditionists in later times, namely 2 *Tim.* i. 13, 14. ii. 2. What was, however, in the apostle's mind, Tertullian says, *will be understood from that which he wrote before and afterwards. He was not hinting at some doctrine out of common observation, but rather inculcating the necessity of admitting no principles but such as had been heard from himself before many witnesses.* ("Quod autem præceptum, quæ denunciatio, ex supra et infra scriptis intelligitur: non nescio quid subostendi hoc dicto de remotiore doctrina; sed potius inculcari de non admittenda alia præter ea, quæ audierat ab ipso, et puto, coram multis testibus." (c. xxv. p. 335.) That Tertullian considered principles of apostolic origin to be contained sufficiently in Scripture may be inferred from his reasoning, that what the apostles preached, and consequently Christ revealed, is to be learnt from *those Churches which the apostles themselves founded, as well by preaching vivâ voce, as by epistles afterwards.* ("Ipsi eis prædicando tam viva, quod aiunt, voce, quam per Epistolas postea." c. xxi. p. 334.) This is plainly adverse to the notion of any doctrines holden as a sacred deposit by the Church, but uncontained in Scripture. It supposes, that *after vivâ voce* reference to the apostles became impossible, their doctrines were to be learnt from

pleas were met, not only by special reasons, but also by maintaining that apostolic doctrine was to be found in apostolic sees, and that no see which could prove its title to the name of apostolical, gave countenance to any heretical article of belief. The sees eventually distinguished as apostolical, that is, founded by apostles in person, were those of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Ancyra, Corinth, and Thessalonica. Ancyra, it was taken for granted, must be an apostolical see; because it was established in the capital of Galatia, and St. Paul had written an epistle to the Christians of that province generally. Alexandria was considered, and probably enough, as a personal foundation of St. Peter's; Ephesus, of both St. Paul's and St. John's.¹ The other apostolical sees have their claims to that title plainly established by Scripture. Of the whole Rome, as being altogether in far the

such documents as they left behind. These documents, he says, were preserved by the Churches of apostolic foundation. *In which (Churches) are recited their authentic letters themselves.* (c. xxxvi. p. 338.) The words *authenticae literæ* have gained a good deal of notice. Many have thought them to mean *autographs of the apostles*, and Pamelius countenances a former editor of Tertullian in supposing this notion correct (p. 364.); it not being impossible that letters, or signatures, of the apostles might exist in Tertullian's time. From other passages in Tertullian's writings, Bishop Kaye, however, inclines to think that nothing more may be meant than "the genuine unadulterated epistles." (Tertullian, 308.) But whatever may be the precise meaning of these words, it might seem probable that in the churches, honoured by particular epistles of apostles, these venerable communications were habitually read (*recitantur*); and as they are not very long, they must have, therefore, become so familiar to the respective congregations as to render the corruption of them all but impossible. Upon this principle, apostolic doctrine was to be learnt from apostolic churches, not, however, doctrine which the apostles had not placed upon record, but what really had been left recorded by them. Upon the whole, therefore, this treatise, though often cited by traditionists, may be turned effectively against them.

¹ De Marca, iii. 307, 6, 7.

most important position, naturally took the lead. But it is remarkable that Tertullian, who argued in a particular treatise upon the necessity of respecting apostolical prescription, does not give, upon doctrinal questions, more importance to the Roman see than to other sees of apostolic origin.¹ His main argument has been often revived in Romish controversy, but it evidently has little real weight. Suppose it used by an English member of the body called Unitarian, or Socinian. Such a person would vainly say, Ours are the doctrines professed by the old Presbyterians and Independents, as the venerable appearance of many among our meeting-houses will show, and still more, an uninterrupted series of authentic documents. The courts, however, decided in the case of Lady Hewley's charity, that numerous Protestant dissenting bodies, connected uninterruptedly with early nonconformity, have, notwithstanding, departed widely from the religious principles that were originally preached in their places of worship. Nor can any one question the soundness of this decision. Equally fallacious, no doubt, with such supposed Socinian pleading, is the general principle advocated by Tertullian. Nothing but unadulterated records, or some other external restraint, will keep men, even for a generation or two, steady to one system of belief. Hence it was a scru-

¹ *Is Achaia close to you? you have Corinth; if you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi — have the Thessalonians; if you can stretch into Asia, you have Ephesus: and if you lie near Italy, you have Rome.* (Tertullian, *De Præscr.* c. xxxvi. p. 338.) Tertullian set aside Scripture in controversy with the heretics of his day, because the two parties were not agreed as to the genuineness of various parts of it.

pulous care of documents which the apostles left, not mere foundation by them, which really demanded confidence for the apostolic sees. But, however men generally viewed such questions, it should not be forgotten that Rome's unquestionable title to rank as an apostolical see contributed very much to her early religious importance. That we hear of no other such see through all the West, is a strong presumption against current accounts of apostolic missions in those regions.

Another great advantage was gained by the see of Rome, after Constantine's conversion. Whatever cause might have chiefly acted upon that emperor in forsaking paganism, there can be no question that he did not act without an eye to the more easy government of his Christian subjects. In civil matters he aimed at centralisation; and hence the bishops of his three principal towns, Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, felt sure of pleasing him, if they could succeed in exercising a territorial authority similar to that of the secular governors in those places. As names are often useful for obtaining things, the two great Oriental bishops came forward in the fifth century, or it may be something earlier, as *patriarchs*; a title which had been taken by the two chiefs, chosen, it was pretended, from David's family, of the dispersed Jews.¹

¹ The Jews had two patriarchs: one at Babylon, to preside over those of their nation who were dispersed beyond the Euphrates; the other at Tiberias, for those who lived in the West. The first occurrence of the term *patriarch*, as applied to a Christian ecclesiastical dignitary, is in Socrates, who wrote about 440. (v. 8. p. 217.) But his representation is inaccurate, inasmuch as it relates to the second canon enacted at Constantinople, in 381; which canon makes no mention of patriarchs. All, therefore, that can be inferred from this passage, is, that in the

The Roman bishop was called patriarch too; but not usually in his own documents, nor so early or so commonly.¹ All these three great prelates possessed a customary jurisdiction over the regions which depended upon the governors of the cities in which they severally dwelt; and the emperor, until a fourth patriarchate arose near his own palace in Constantinople, was ordinarily willing to consider this custom as a right. The fifth patriarchate, that of Jerusalem, never obtained much importance. Thus the see of Rome acquired fresh privileges, and of a very extensive kind. Still, these privileges had nothing spiritual in their nature and origin. There can be no good reason, then, why principles and usages which are incapable of scriptural authentication, should now be maintained, because it suits the purposes of an Italian

time of Socrates, the term *patriarch* had grown into use among Christians. In 451, the term is repeatedly used in writings laid before the council of Chalcedon: Pope Leo being styled *œcumenical archbishop and patriarch of great Rome*. — Suicer in *voc. Πατριάρχης*. Vales. in *Socr.* iii. 47. Labb. et Coss. iv. 396.

¹ *It is not, however, to be dissembled here, that although the Roman bishops enjoyed patriarchal jurisdiction in the West, they were not in the habit of designating themselves by the name of patriarch, but placed their authority on no other ground than that of the apostolic see.* (De Marca, i. 42.) For this fact the learned archbishop goes on to cite Gregory the Great, of whom he subsequently says, *Gregory, therefore, would not be called patriarch but he did not think it unsuitable to him to use patriarchal jurisdiction over the provinces of the West.* (p. 43.) This is a key to Romish dealings with patriarchal questions. The Roman bishop is to be represented some times as no patriarch at all, but above all the patriarchs; but let patriarchal jurisdiction come under notice, and we hear that he has the same rights in the West that the other patriarchs have in the East. Among the Orientals he was regularly considered as a patriarch, and there can be no question that this view of his position materially tended to aggrandise his see in the West. Romish advocates, therefore, still treat the Roman see as patriarchal, and labour to prove all the West within its patriarchate. In the ninth century, Nicholas I. distinctly claimed the patriarchal title for the see of Rome. The ninety-second of his *answers to the Bulgarians* says *those are truly to be ac-*

prelate, whose predecessors were endued with great powers for its own ends, by a government which was overthrown centuries ago. This argument may be so strongly urged against all patriarchal claims, that even writers of eminence have supposed the leading apostles to have fixed their principal congregations where they did, from a prophetic eye to the future establishment of metropolitan sees. But such a notion is evidently gratuitous and improbable. The largest congregations naturally arose in the largest cities, and their principal ministers necessarily became more important than any other principal ministers. This importance naturally acquired a territorial character, as the social importance of Christians advanced, and out of this character grew a

counted patriarchs who possess apostolic sees through a succession of pontiffs ; that is, who preside over those Churches which apostles are proved to have instituted, namely, the Roman, the Alexandrian, and the Antiochian. Nicholas goes on to say that the Roman see was instituted by the preaching, and consecrated by the blood of Peter and Paul, *the princes of the holy apostles* ("sanctorum principes apostolorum"). So that such as are tauntingly asked, *where did you find St. Paul called prince of the apostles ?* may even answer, in authentic records left by Popes Adrian I. and Nicholas I. as well as in other Romish places. Nicholas says of the other two patriarchs, that they have not the same authority as the former three, *although they are called patriarchs ;* the church of Constantinople not having been instituted by any apostle, nor mentioned by the council of Nice ; *but because Constantinople is called New Rome, its pontiff is styled patriarch, rather from the favour of princes than from reason.* As for the prelate of Jerusalem, Nicholas will admit him also to be only called patriarch, although he speaks of his dignity with great respect, but says that by the council of Nice, he was only styled bishop of Ælia ; the earthly Jerusalem having been wholly destroyed by the emperor Adrian, and the *true Jerusalem being only in heaven.* (Labb. et Coss. viii. 545.) Thus Nicholas not only distinctly places the Roman see upon the patriarchal footing, but also refers patriarchates to the recognition of the first council of Nice. Other sees could be proved to be apostolical, and were so admitted, besides those in the three great cities of the old Roman world, but no one of these sees ranked as patriarchal.

hierarchy, which is adapted to an advanced, wealthy, and complicated state of society. Attempts to place patriarchates, or metropolitans, upon the footing of divine right rest, however, upon disputable inferences and mere conjecture.¹ More than this, all such attempts require special pleading to keep them

¹ "Bishop Ussher derives the origin of this settlement (of primates or metropolitans) from apostolical constitution. So also Bishop Beveridge, Dr. Hammond, Peter De Marca, and some others." (Bingham, ii. 16. p. 59.) De Marca speaks of the matter as *capable of proof without any trouble*. (Ibid. iii. tom. i. 19.) But he alleges there no other proofs than St. Peter's address in his first epistle, to the strangers in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. It is rather hasty to infer from this, that St. Peter was then thinking of these provinces as fit for future ecclesiastical districts respectively. Another reason for his opinion De Marca finds in *Tit.* i. 5., which gives reasons why St. Paul left Titus in Crete; but it requires a very strong hierarchical sight to see that St. Paul did this, because he meant Crete to form hereafter a district under a metropolitan. In his sixth book, c. i., the archbishop lays down the same doctrine again, and alleges for it *Acts*, xx. 28. This he cites, of course, from the Vulgate, which translates *ποιμαίνειν* by *regere* allowably enough, though it might seem not so accurately as the authorised English version *feed*. De Marca then proceeds. *But because the Church is to be ruled according to unity, it was necessary that some mode of communication between bishops should be instituted by the apostles, according to the example given by Christ in the institution of the apostolic college, which represented the whole body of the Church; therefore a form of rule was to be prescribed by them, in fact aristocratic, so that one should preside.* This gratuitous chain of reasoning is re-inforced by a citation from Leo I. who is called *saint*, upon the same politic principle that is used among some of our own Protestant dissenters who distinguish individuals whom they wish to magnify, as *good mister this*, and *good mister that*. This pope, as might be expected, asserts roundly that *one apostle had a pre-eminence given him over the others. From which form arose the distinction of bishops.* (iii. 5.) Fimiani, however, one of De Marca's annotators, though a decided papal advocate, cannot commit himself to these reasonings of his, notwithstanding the countenance afforded them by Baronius, Schelstrate, Du Pin, and Meyer. He pronounces it *an involved question as to the form which the apostles and their successors followed in founding churches*; and concludes, *He that will examine the matter without party spirit, will clearly find that regard to the civil division was neither never had, nor always, by the apostles and fathers.* (i. 18.) This, in fact, amounts to the rational admission that Churches were founded without any reference to civil arrangements.

from a well-known canon enacted by the first Council of Nice, which really gave a sort of charter to the three great sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, though it does not call them patriarchal. This famous assembly recognises their pretensions in its sixth canon, but mentions no ground for them except custom.¹ Had it been known or thought in those days, that eminent apostles established churches in the three principal Roman cities, with a view to the future territorial privileges of their several bishops, the Nicene fathers would never, surely, have treated of such privileges as if all that could be said for them was ancient usage. That this usage itself resulted from the great importance of the three principal

¹ *Let ancient customs remain in force, (τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω) as to affairs in Egypt, and Libya, and Pentapolis; that the bishop of Alexandria have authority over all these, since this usage is also that of the bishop in Rome. Similarly, too, let their privileges be preserved to the churches at Antioch, and in other provinces.* This famous canon has occasioned numerous controversies: Romish writers having naturally been anxious to find some way of eluding its obvious tendency to place the papal see upon a very intelligible, but perfectly human level, which is to be shared by two other leading sees, and by some that are not specified by name. It is foreign to the present purpose to enter upon a particular examination of the canon: all now required being to remark that Rome's ecclesiastical pre-eminence is referred neither to St. Peter, nor to St. Paul, nor to the two apostles conjointly, but solely to *ancient custom*. That this *custom* originated in mere civil importance, may be inferred from the order of precedence, among other things, given to the three principal sees. Although the story goes that St. Peter was bishop of Antioch seven years, and he is represented as merely concerned in erecting the see of Alexandria, yet this latter is regularly ranked second. For this there is an obvious reason in the size of Alexandria, which was the second among Roman cities. It may be added, that Nicholas I. in his *answers to the Bulgarians* (see 92. p. 201. note.), refers by inevitable implication, the patriarchal character of the three great sees to the sixth canon of the council of Nice; for he will not admit either Constantinople or Jerusalem to be really patriarchates, not only from defect of apostolical foundation, but also from want of express recognition by the Nicene fathers.

Roman cities, appears from the conduct even of the other apostolical sees. The importance of them all became gradually merged in the importance of the Roman, Alexandrian, and Antiochian churches. De Marca would persuade us this took place, not only on account of the decided superiority of the three cities, but also from respect to St. Peter, who was believed, and apparently with perfect justice, to have been concerned in founding all the three churches.¹ But such a supposition is evidently strained by the force of Romish prejudice. If grounds for the importance of sees are to be sought apart from the importance of cities, Jerusalem surely should make a more conspicuous figure in ecclesiastical history. Its eventual position, something out of the space occupied by the ancient city, is obviously a mere subterfuge, extorted by the pressure of a difficulty.² St. Peter, in all probability,

¹ *The other apostolical Churches, although they did not depend upon the patriarchate of these bishops, had great respect for them, from considering the dignity of the cities in which they were instituted, and from reverence of Peter, the institutor of their bishopric. For Rome was mistress of the globe ; Alexandria, the second city of the Roman empire, because it was head of the Egyptian kingdom ; and Antioch, the third, because it was queen of the East. (De Concord. vi. 1. tom. iii. 10.)* It is obvious that *reverence of Peter* here is merely a gratuitous supposition, which never could have entered into any other than a Romish head. All the rest is good sense.

² It is plain that apostolical foundation and martyrdom, which were so strongly urged in favour of Rome, might suggest much stronger claims in favour of Jerusalem. Hence Nicholas I., in his ninety-second answer to the Bulgarians, says that earthly Jerusalem, as our Lord predicted, was so completely destroyed by *Ælius Hadrian* that one stone in it was not left upon another, and by the same *Ælius Hadrian* it was built in another place, so that the place of our Lord's crucifixion without the gate is now seen within. This is obviously mere subterfuge. The inclusion of our Lord's place of crucifixion within the modern Jerusalem, is an additional reason, upon papal principles, for conceding the highest patriarchal honours to the bishop of that city.

shed his blood at Rome, in witness to the truth ; but Jesus Christ undoubtedly redeemed mankind by his blood, at Jerusalem, and even within the walls of the later town. St. Peter himself, too, by his inspired sermon, on the great day of Pentecost, began, in that same city, to raise the superstructure of the Christian Church. Ephesus, likewise, has very high claims to religious importance among the apostolical sees. It could not only trace its position to St. Paul, whom authentic records exhibit as co-founder of the Roman church, but it was also connected with St. John, the "loved" disciple, the favoured personage, to whose care our Lord himself, when actually upon the cross, recommended his afflicted mother, and who subsequently provided her, in consequence, with a home. Surely those who so deify the Virgin Mary as to make themselves rather Marians than Christians, ought fairly to consider Ephesus as the first of apostolic sees. But, no: it was placed in a town little frequented by the great bulk of Roman subjects; hence it never had a chance of becoming the centre of religious reference. Like Jerusalem, it never could compete with such mighty cities as Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch: nor, of these three, could the latter two sustain any sort of equality with the first.

Although this pre-eminence arose from civil causes, it proved independent of them. When Rome sank down to a provincial city, she even gained importance in the religious world. One reason that made Christians respectfully careful of their dead was a

deep conviction of the body's resurrection. They ever dwelt upon the day when a departed friend's remains would break off the chilling sleep of death, and mount upwards to a glorious immortality.¹ Such a destination must obviously burst with more than usual splendour upon those whose blood had borne witness to their faith. Hence congregations worshipped, in places endeared by their sufferings or interments, and no communion-table pleased so well as the sarcophagus or sepulchral mound, in which a martyr's bones reposed. Heathen persecutors were hence induced, sometimes, to destroy every remnant of their victims.² In other instances, total disappearance must have come from ordinary causes. Among the stone altars, accordingly, as they are figuratively called, in the catacombs, or exhausted stone quarries, under parts of Rome and its neighbourhood, some

- ¹ "Quid nam sibi saxa cavata?
Quid pulchra volunt monumenta?
Res quod nisi creditur illis
Non mortua, sed data somno.
Hoc provida Christicolarum
Pietas studet, utpote credens
Fore protinus omnia viva,
Quæ nunc gelidus sopor urget."

Prudent. *Cathemerr.* x. 60.

- ² "Jam nunc et ossa extinxero
Ne sit sepulcrum funeris,
Quod plebs gregalis excolat
Titulumque fingat martyris."

Id. *Peristeph.* v. 394.

This language, put by Prudentius into the mouth of a heathen persecutor, is confirmed by the following query addressed by Jonas of Orleans to Claudius of Turin, in the former's reply to the latter's attack upon the worship of images:—*Do not you know that it was the pagans' custom to hide in all manner of ways the bones of the martyrs whom they killed by all manner of kinds of deaths, or to burn them up by fire, or at any rate to expose them to beasts, lest they should be honourably buried by the Christians?* — *Bibliotheca Patrum.* iv. 548, Par. 1624.

are only slabs, resting on a single stem, or on more supports than one.¹ But it might be thought, or known, that a martyr's relics mouldered near; and Christians could not pray and praise on such a spot, without feeling a holy glow within. In happier times, localities which martyrdoms had consecrated became the sites of churches. These were consequently termed *martyria*², and St. Peter's at Rome is one of them. The zealous population of Northern Africa, not contented with monumental churches, raised numerous altar-tombs for saints, in the fields and by the sides of roads. If any doubts arose from the multitude of these calls upon public veneration, a convenient vision ever was in store, to vouch for their correct appropriation. As many would still demur, a canon of the African Church orders these altars to be demolished, unless proof could be given of the honour claimed for them. But so strong was their hold upon the populace, that any one of them might stand, although convicted of telling nothing better than some superstitious dreamer's tale, if its demolition seemed likely to provoke a riot.³ A feeling is

¹ Bona. *De Rebb. Liturg.* 166.

² *Churches were called martyria which were built in honour of any martyrs.* Walafrid Strabo. *Bibl. PP.* x. 666.

³ "L. Item placuit, ut altaria, quæ passim per agros et per vias, tanquam memoriæ martyrum constituuntur, in quibus nullum corpus aut reliquiæ martyrum conditæ probantur, ab episcopis qui locis eisdem præsent, si fieri potest, evertantur. Si autem hoc per tumultus populares non sinitur, plebes tamen admoneantur, ne illa loca frequentent, ut qui recte sapiunt nulla ibi superstitione devincti teneantur. Et omnino nulla memoria martyrum probabiliter acceptetur, nisi ubi corpus aut aliquæ reliquiæ sunt, aut origo alicujus habitationis, vel possessionis, vel passionis, fidelissima origine traditur. Nam quæ per somnia, et per inanes quas revelationes quorumlibet hominum ubicumque constituuntur altaria omni modo reprobentur." — Labb. et Coss. ii. 1654.

indicated by this caution, which ran through the Christian world. Imagination was ever wandering back, and with exaggerated reverence for the sufferers, to the days of persecution. Many of the larger churches were provided with facilities for celebrating that subterraneous worship, which once had given honour to the tombs of martyrs, and concealment likewise from heathen power. A crypt, or undercroft, called *martyrium*, or *confessio*, was constructed under the raised platforms of their communion ends.¹ Even service above ground, however brightly the sun might shine, was thought incomplete without lighted candles. The crypts, like real sepulchral vaults, were fitted up with a cist, or with several such things, to contain the remains of saints. Relics were, accordingly, coveted so keenly, that men would stoop sometimes to gain them by force or fraud.

One cause of this eagerness was a prevailing wish to provide every church with some saint's altar-tomb for eucharistic ministrations. Not only were the candles, needed in underground or nocturnal worship, to be used without any need at all, but also some venerated sepulchral mound, cased with stone, was to call up those holy feelings which had been so created in times of persecution. Thus Christians were led into the fashion of stone altars; but none thought of erecting them at first, without an eye to the original destination of such objects. Men were not contented with mere cenotaphs. Usage required builders of eucharistic altars to furnish them with remains of

¹ Du Cange, in voc. *Confessio*. The Greeks called a place of this kind *καταβάσις*, because it was reached by *going down* steps.

saints. By this requirement Ambrose was delayed in the dedication of a new church at Milan. His people wished him to proceed, but he knew not how to supply the altar with its appropriate contents. A seasonable dream helped him out of this difficulty. He declared himself to have been thus made acquainted with a spot where lay the bodies of two forgotten martyrs, and brothers, named Gervasius and Protasius. No time was lost in getting up a solemn digging, which laid bare two skeletons. A scene was then enacted by a woman, thought possessed, which made people sure that his nocturnal information was correct. Old men next remembered hearing the martyrs' names, and reading the inscription on their tomb: afterwards came the hackneyed miracle of a blind man's restoration to sight. When these accounts reached Ambrose's Arian enemies, they laughed, said that the skeletons found were not those of martyrs, and charged him with collusion.¹ It is a pity that he was not better employed; but his doings upon this occasion have their value, because they throw light upon the real meaning of stone altars. Even after these had superseded pretty completely other communion tables, their original destination was partly kept in sight. Every one of them could not be furnished with some saint's complete remains: but portions might be very widely spread. A demand was accordingly created, which superstition and cupidity

¹ Newman's *Fleury*, i. 106. The authority for this incident in Ambrose's life is no less a man than Austin. It is lamentable to see the names of Austin and Ambrose mixed up in such things. But their weaknesses may at least serve to show the folly of building up religious belief upon the Fathers instead of the Scriptures.

strove to meet, by separating relics.¹ In this way only was there any prospect of obeying the second council of Nice, which made bishops liable to deprivation, if they consecrated churches without relics.² A farther drain upon the stock of saintly remnants was created by the fashion of building more altars than one in the same church: a novelty, which, like most others, ran into extremes. Nor would superstition rest contented with a due supply for all her eucharistic wants. People became greedy of reliquary wealth, and made exertions to provide a store of it for all places and purposes connected with religion.

The prevalence of such a taste naturally tempted

¹ Austin admits that false relics existed in his time. If that great man had been great enough for the stern rejection of all religious teaching that is not clearly authorised by Scripture, he would have used his knowledge or suspicions, as to some of the known relics, to expose men's fond admiration of such things. But he lived after judaising and philosophising influences had found an entrance into the church, and he could not wholly shake off the taint introduced by them. In his days, and long afterwards, the relic system was only in its infancy. Hence he was not sufficiently on his guard against its inevitable tendencies. Fleury says of relics, "there could have been no deceit in them, had they always observed this wise precaution, never to touch the sepulchres of the saints, but to leave their bodies whole under ground, as are those of the holy apostles still at Rome. You have seen with what steadiness and resolution St. Gregory denied St. Paul's head to the empress herself. At that time they sent no other relics about, but either linen wherewith the sepulchres of the saints had been touched, or the cloths they had been wrapped in, or which had covered their altars." *Discourses on Eccl. Hist.* Lond. 1734, p. 126.

² *If after the present time any bishop shall be found to consecrate a temple without holy relics, let him be removed, as one who has transgressed the ecclesiastical traditions.* (*Conc. Nic. II. can. vii. Labb. et Coss. vii. 603.*) The Latin version does not style relics *holy*. The former part of this canon orders the solemn placing of relics in churches which had been consecrated without them. The imperial war, which had been waged against images, was also waged against relics, and many of them were destroyed in it; which is an additional reason for doubting the genuineness of such objects in Romish churches.

artful men into the fabrication of commodities that were so sure of eager customers. Dishonesty would not let folly run away from it, but generally offered a sufficiency of superstitious wares to keep the market for them in a lively state. Remote England was, indeed, one time, rather at a loss to find relics fast enough for all her new altars.¹ But continental nations had a larger stock, together with a readier access, to roguish Greeks and shrewd Asiatics.² Hence the churches of Europe rapidly filled with palpable impostures and gross absurdities. Grievously do these miserable remnants of by-gone days embarrass the more enlightened modern Romanists; who neither know how to give up the cause of relics, nor to find any decent excuse for most of those which have weathered, or are said to have weathered, all the storms of time and common sense. When relics were,

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 130.

² "They began in the East to translate and divide relics, which was the occasion of cheats. For to be certain of relics it was necessary to trace them exactly from their original, and to know all the hands through which they had passed: which was not so difficult a matter at the beginning. But after several ages, it was much easier to impose upon the bishops as well as the people, when their knowledge was less, and they grew more careless: and since it has been a settled rule, not to consecrate either churches or altars without relics, the necessity of having them was a strong temptation not to examine so narrowly into them. The advantage of getting offerings and pilgrimages, by which cities were enriched, was afterwards a still greater temptation." (*Fleury, ut supra*, 127.) What better could be expected from the relic system? Successful beginnings in folly rapidly bring on endings in roguery. But let not such things cast even the slightest shade upon Christianity. If the Austins, and Jeromes, and Ambroses could be multiplied ten thousand fold, their puny testimony in favour of current weaknesses, would slink away abashed, before any competent vindicator of real Christianity from the least connivance at folly and fraud. Jerome's name unhappily stands foremost in the ignominious cause of relics. He opposed violently their enemy Vigilantius, and has thus clouded eminent services to religion by a scurrilous advocacy of superstition.

however, most in vogue, nearly the whole community was ripe for frauds and fooleries. Hence it was not, as it is in these days, merely the vulgar and the weak who delighted in relics. Almost all the world could cower before them as the most venerable and mysterious objects vouchsafed to mortal eyes. Nor were many things thought more enviable than an opportunity of visiting some of the more famous among them. Every rank, therefore, sent forth its pilgrims. Pagans and Mahometans might be excused for the taste which made such travellers¹; but Scripture teaches, and experience too, that a moral taint lurks about our earthly tenement.² It must be, therefore, quite unfit for Christian veneration. The alleged remains, however, of the very apostle from whom this doctrine may be gathered, supplied Rome with one of her more powerful attractions. Eventually, pilgrims to that city thought chiefly of St. Peter. Their barbarian ignorance easily took up a notion that he was the literal janitor of heaven, and not unlikely, as they would themselves if they had it in their power, to close its everlasting gates against any who

¹ "Certain Siamese priests went to Candy for the purpose of seeing and worshipping the relic called the tooth of Budh, which is carefully preserved by our government. Sir Colin Campbell, it is stated, was at first unwilling that the tooth should be displayed: but he was at length prevailed on to give his consent, and the sacred tooth was exhibited to the adoring priests in the presence of Lord Elphinstone, by Mr. Mercer, the assistant government agent." (*Evening Mail*, May 23. 1845.) "I am not aware of any passage in which the religious observance of relics is clearly connected with the doctrine of the resurrection, *from which it undoubtedly proceeds*." (Newman, *Essay on Development*. Lond. 1845, p. 388.) Why may it not proceed from paganism?

² *Rom.* vii. 18. "Scio enim quia non habitat in me, hoc est, in carne mea, bonum." *Fulg.*

had not sought sufficient interest with him.¹ Hence his hold upon popular veneration became excessive. The Isaurian Leo, when driven upon iconoclasm by the experience of intolerable ills, talked of ordering St. Peter's image to be destroyed. But Gregory II. could feel neither fear nor shame in raking up, under such a threat, even an emperor's early disadvantages, with a freedom closely bordering upon insolence. The superstitious herd was at his back, and he let his imperial correspondent know, that *great confidence was reposed in St. Peter throughout all the kingdoms of the West, which regarded him as a god upon earth*. Men so deluded were sure to put some extravagant estimate upon the pope; and such we learn from Gregory was the fact.² Nor could an uninquiring fanaticism,

¹ *We know that, from not understanding our Saviour's words in the Gospel, in which he says to blessed Peter the Apostle, Thou art Peter (Petrus), and upon this rock (Petra) I will build my church; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of the heavens; on account of these sayings of our Lord, the ignorant sort of men, for gaining eternal life (all spiritual meaning being put behind), wish to go to Rome. This is the testimony of Claudius of Turin, and it is confirmed by the manner in which Osway broke up the synod of Whitby. (Anglo-Saxon Church, 72.) The assertion here made by Claudius of his own knowledge draws the following curious admission from his opponent Jonas of Orleans: — Most and almost all understand the rock on which the church is built, as blessed Peter's faith, which is the common one of all the holy church, namely, that which had a little before preceded this promise, that is, Thou art Christ, Son of the living God; and upon this rock the Lord promised that his Church was to be built. So that even a defender of image worship in the ninth century gives up a favourite text in favour of the papacy, as understood by most of his contemporaries in no manner at all favourable to it. He does not deny the assertion of Claudius, but loosely argues against it, and asserts the wisdom of entreating blessed Peter and other saints, not as God, but as God's familiar friends, and of visiting, from love to them, the places of their confession and burial. Bibl. PP. iv. 586.*

² Πᾶσα ἡ δύσις εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀποβλέπει ταπεινώσιν — καὶ εἰς ὃν ἐπαγγέλλη καταλῦσαι καὶ ἀφανίσει τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου, ὃν αἱ πᾶσαι βασιλεῖαι τῆς δύσεως θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι. (Greg. P. R. ad Leon. Isaur. Imp. Labb. et Coss. vii. 22.) Among other very free

which half deified St. Peter, and made people wild to worship at his tomb, fail to shower importance upon his presumed successor. Anglo-Saxon pilgrims did not, however, flock to Rome solely from reverence for the great Apostle of the Circumcision. St. Paul, as well as St. Peter, was expressly sometimes the object of their toilsome journey.¹ On reaching a church famed for some saint's remains, it was usual in early times to fall down and kiss the threshold.² Religious visitors to Rome, from ancient England, generally went from home to salute *the thresholds of the apostles*. In talking thus, they kept in view the great apostle of the gentiles as co-founder of the Roman church, and evangelist of themselves among the mass of un-circumcised believers. But besides the twin stars of Christendom, Rome gloried also in remains of many less illustrious martyrs; and prayers were thought of more than usual efficacy when offered at some holy sufferer's tomb.³ This made Jerome, when a boy at

things, the Roman prelate calls his imperial correspondent *uneducated and gross*: (*ἀπαιδευτος καὶ παχύς. Ibid. 10.*); so confidently could Gregory reckon upon popular support, when he stood up for a cause so germane to human grossness as image worship. Leo's origin, it may be recollected, was inferior.

¹ Ethelric says of his Roman pilgrimage, *When I sought St. Peter and St. Paul for the healing of my soul. Cod. Diplom. Æv. Sax. ii. 227.*

² Prudentius, accordingly, says of the conversions which followed at Rome upon Laurence's martyrdom:

"Ipsa et senatus lumina,
Quondam Luperci aut Flamines,
Apostolorum et Martyrum
Exosculantur limina."

Peristeph. ii. 520.

³ Thus Prudentius says of praying by Hypolitus's altar-tomb, —

"Hic corruptelis animique et corporis æger
Oravi quoties stratus, opem merui."

Ibid. xi. 178.

In this passage, it may be observed, *merere* means *to obtain*, a sense

Rome, with other serious youths, find in the catacombs a favourite Sunday walk.¹ In after times these lurking-places and burying-places of the early Christians became an inexhaustible mine of relics.² It is true that nameless remains drawn from them were only treated by persons in authority as relics of unknown saints.³ But any saint's remains would give completeness to an altar; and if a name would raise them in popular estimation, they could be identified in whatever manner was desired, by a vision to indicate, and a miracle to confirm. Thus barbarian ignorance and fanaticism found endless attractions in the ancient capital. By Claudius, bishop of Turin, in the ninth century, pilgrimages thither were taxed with blindness, stupidity, and folly.⁴ But minds en-

far from unusual in medieval writings, but likely to betray readers, ignorant of that fact, into an opinion, that *merit* is meant where the writer had no thought of the kind.

The view here given of relics by the Christian poet, will serve to explain many medieval superstitions. If prayers offered before relics were more efficacious than others, oaths taken before them might be considered more sacred and binding than others. This became accordingly the prevailing notion. Relics were, in fact, erected into the most awful and effective of charms. As the age has outgrown witchcraft, it clearly should outgrow relics also.

¹ Bona *De Rebb. Liturg.* 158., where the passage from Jerome may be seen.

² Prudentius says of his own visit to Rome,—

“Innumeros cineres sanctorum Romula in urbe
Vidimus, O Christi Valeriane sacer.”

Peristephh. xi. 1.

³ *The catacombs of Rome furnish a great number of relics. The names of saints are given to them at hazard; but although it is permitted to expose these relics of unknown saints to the veneration of the faithful, it is forbidden to make an office or a festival about them. Moreri, in voc. Reliques.*

⁴ *This impudent calumniator, as Dungal calls him, forbids people to go to the memories (churches) of the saints, and especially to the church of St. Peter, for the purpose of praying; saying that this labour is vain and useless, without any profit, and calling those who undertake it blind,*

lightened like his, by sound sense and sound religion, can seldom act powerfully on the multitude. When Claudius would have taught a benighted age, there were few indeed whose intellects did not grovel on the ground. Hence his opponents received infinitely more attention than himself. They were easily believed, when they charged him with decrying pilgrimages to Rome, from envy of the offerings carried thither.¹ Of any higher motive in him, the stupid mass of men could not see a trace. A journey to Rome would make heaven's door-keeper their friend, and supply relics to their heart's content. Thus that celebrated city was merely blighted by imperial desertion. She was preserved from ruin by a factitious importance which kept her in the public eye quite as much as ever. From being the seat of government, she became the centre of western superstition. But sound religion was no party to her possession of this new empire. Popes took the place of Cæsars, not because they were either the creation or the friends of scriptural truth, but because they were tempted by various lucky accidents, and seldom wanted either the disposition or the skill to make the best worldly use of them.

senseless, and foolish ("cæcos, insipientes, et stultos"). *Bibl. PP.* iv. p. ii. 175.

¹ *His abhorrence of visits to the churches of all the saints, and especially to St. Peter's, for the sake of praying, (inasmuch as people go thither in greater numbers than to other churches, on account of the excellence, in fact, of the Apostles, and of innumerable martyrs resting there,) comes, I think, from the incentives of envy and cupidity, because most of the votive gifts flow thither. For if they were thus taken to the church of Turin, I should certainly believe that he would take as much pains in favouring and praising that custom, as he now takes in blaspheming it, and dissuading from it; and that he would compose books*

Inquirers, however, who look farther into the steps by which the Roman see mounted up to the pinnacle of ecclesiastical importance, will encounter some that can scarcely be dismissed as lucky accidents. Among the evils imported into the church by early converts of the philosophic class, were an extreme facility of belief, and even an appetite for deception, when it seemed likely to serve the cause of truth. Hence little or no difficulty was made within the first two centuries in receiving apocryphal scriptures and interpolated or forged Sibylline oracles. Hence, too, Christians were prepared for admitting in the sixth century, apparently, a half-fabulous history of the Roman see.¹ This clears up difficulties in a manner suitable for papal purposes. It is, in reality, that sort of history, which approaches romance founded upon facts; and its writer, like other authors who fit facts to theories, filled up a well-known outline in such a way as would probably answer a particular end, and give general satisfaction. His name is unknown; but pope Damasus long passed for the compiler of his work. It is a compilation that Rome has found very serviceable; the history of her early bishops being not only treated in it as she wishes, but also various rites and opinions being invested, by its means, with an ancient air that

with no less labour to persuade all into reverence of the holy Turin relics, and into commending themselves to intercessions by their means, than those which he has lately put together, in rebellion against the Apostles, and perversely published in derogation of them. Dungal. adv. Claud. Taur. *ut supra*.

¹ Pearson, *Opp. Posth.* 126. The bishop grounds his opinion as to the age of this work upon various allusions in it to rites, opinions, and discipline, which cannot be traced higher than the sixth century.

authentic documents refuse them.¹ Hence this work, which is generally known as the *Pontifical Book*, supplies what is needed for making out a plausible case in behalf of the papacy. When, however, the press awakened real criticism, this long-established manual of papal history was shown to be no work of Damasus at all, but probably compiled from some two unknown books, by an unknown and bungling writer. These facts are admitted by Binius, and by subsequent editors of the *Councils*; but earlier collections use the pseudo-Damasus as if it were a record worthy of reliance. Its claims, however, to genuineness and authenticity, have been so thoroughly exposed, that Baronius and other able Romanists do not venture to defend it, in spite of the weapons for Protestant controversy which its pages offer. The book, notwithstanding, seems expected still to do at least a portion of its ancient work. It supplies the lives of the early Roman bishops in editions of the *Councils*; making St. Peter, of course, to be the first of these bishops, and calling him, of course, *Prince of the Apostles*. Undoubtedly his life is preceded by a note, informing readers that it comes from a document which is apocryphal, and which con-

¹ *Ibid.* 129. *From this book, as if from a book truly Damasus's, the papists cite many things, especially Bellarmine. That Peter the apostle was bishop of Rome to his death, Bellarmine collects from this book: that the election of bishops appertains to the chief pontiff: that images are rightly placed in temples: that a baptized person ought to be anointed with chrism on the head: that sacred vestments are required by a priest about to say mass: that sacred vessels are to be had for the use of mass: that incensing at mass is a most ancient ceremony: and other things of this kind Bellarmine wishes to be concluded out of this Damasus.* R. Coci *Censura quorundam Scriptorum, quæ sub nominibus sanctorum et veterum Auctorum citari solent.* Helmeſt. 1655, p. 278.

tains things that are untrue. But for all this, future lives of St. Peter's alleged successors are drawn from it, and pope Damasus is named as their author. This is manifestly unfair. Of the few readers who look into the *Councils*, very few indeed ever use them for any thing beyond occasional reference. A tolerably careful scholar, therefore, might consider himself sure of an authority from Damasus, when he was, in fact, merely trusting to interested fiction. A well-informed opponent would tell him so, and besides, that if he had only looked at a little note, which now introduces the *Pontifical Book*, in volumes of the *Councils*, he would have seen the danger of citing it.¹

An ordinary reader might fairly complain of such an answer. He might reasonably stand excused for overlooking an obscure warning in a very voluminous collection. But how shall the system stand excused which tenaciously clings to the chance of being believed upon evidence given up on all hands as unworthy of reliance? Surely it must be a system strangely deficient in solid claims to confidence. Had not some such deficiency been felt, even so early as the seventh century, the *Pontifical Book* never would have been forged. Western Europe saw an ecclesiastical sovereignty arising within her confines, and an intelligent minority wished for some satisfactory account of its claims to their obedience. Rome's position, as anciently the capital, and still the centre of information,

¹ *Note of Severinus Binius. Damasus is not the author of this Pontifical Book; but rather it is patched up out of two different authors, as is proved by its containing things at variance with each other in almost every pontiff. Labb. et Coss. i. 63.*

was an accident, which explained existing circumstances, and then left them to shift for themselves. People called for Scripture and history, or at least for one of them, to solve the problem which papal power put forward. But Scripture was mute; even our Saviour's declared purpose of building his church upon the rock, being all but universally interpreted so as to give Rome no assistance. Equally powerless to aid her was authentic history. Her partisans, therefore, felt sorely pinched, and one of them was ingenious enough to seek a remedy for the difficulty by concocting such a narrative as the world called for. After this convenient medley of truth and falsehood had stood its ground sufficiently long to impose upon an uncritical age, it was regularly adopted as a record worthy of implicit confidence. No longer then were inquirers at a loss to account for papal power: no longer did ambitious popes feel any fear or shame in urging the most extravagant pretensions. The *Pontifical Book*, which mounted positively up to Damasus, proved St. Peter to have been *Prince of the Apostles*, and his principedom to have descended upon the bishops of Rome: it proved also that many other things had an antiquity which mere readers of ancient literature never would have suspected. Such were the proofs that contented many centuries; and although all competent scholars have long given them up as no proofs at all, yet in the gravest Romish books they occupy their old position. This is merely, we may believe, because they have there a sort of prescriptive right; papal privileges being sufficiently established by authentic records. But none such have been produced

capable of standing an impartial scrutiny. Scholars who look into papal affairs are met with good reasons at the outset, for placing upon a level the two Apostles, Peter and Paul. They cannot overlook the natural superiority of the Roman church from its mere position in the capital of a mighty empire. They can point out all the advantages which made up, and more than made up, for the court's transfer of its residence to Constantinople. Thus the papacy shrinks down at once to the ordinary level of human institutions. Nor can its divine origin be maintained upon any other principles than such as would cover all established power, namely, the sufferance of Heaven, until history vouch for things now vouched for only by romance.

CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESS OF PAPAL POWER.

Importance of the eighth century's ecclesiastical history. — Boniface. — His German mission. — His services to the papal cause. — His connection with the Carlovingian family. — He annoints Pepin. — His violent death. — His intercourse with England. — The council of Cloveshoo. — Continental subservency to Rome not followed in England. — Boniface's entire devotion to the papacy. — Papal compromise with Paganism. — Evils of this. — Image-Worship. — Imperial attacks upon it. — Papal support of it. — The Italian revolt. — Papal negotiations with the Carlovingian family. — Papal sanction to its assumption of the crown.

WHEN the Roman Church had once accepted aid from man's corrupt ingenuity, her conduct in fact invited such services again. The eighth century found occasion for them, and they were not wanting. The Roman bishop entered upon that age with a very high degree of ecclesiastical importance, but still as a mere prelate. He had grown, from the first Christian minister in the great metropolis, into the most influential inhabitant of that city after the court left it, and into a spiritual functionary whose privileges were popularly founded upon St. Peter's, whatever these might be. The progress of events tempted him upon a new career of greatness. His imperial master, sunk in sloth and pride, only thought of enjoyment and magnificence at Constantinople. Italy, therefore, was neglected, and barbarians from the north easily found a lodgment within its confines. These new and dan-

gerous neighbours both disquieted the Roman bishops, and undermined their respect for the imperial throne. They saw little reason to confide in its power of giving them effectual protection. Hence they were driven to think of aid from some other quarter. The rising Carolingian family proved such protectors as they wanted, and being seated at a distance, made way for their acquisition of temporal dominion. Thus religious officers were gradually raised by a succession of favouring circumstances into secular princes. To make mankind acquiesce under their new position, fiction was employed again. It had already wrought a general belief, that they were successors of St. Peter. It was now to point out the spiritual privileges which that succession had bestowed, and to justify mere worldly power in popes by representing them as the Italian devisees of Constantine. Absurd as these attempts may now seem, they were sufficient for blinding the great bulk of contemporaries, and in a few generations no one thought of questioning them. Their operation upon the Roman Church was, however, most sinister. Falsehood at the fountain-head tainted all the streams that flowed from it. Papal Rome could never effectively discharge her Christian mission, after she had been tempted, by greediness of sublunary greatness, to borrow weapons from deceit.

Her temptations to this unhappy weakness were so numerous and powerful in the eighth century, that a particular consideration of its ecclesiastical history is necessary to all who would form correct opinions of the Latin Church. When the eighth century closed, the Roman bishop was no longer the principal ecclesi-

astical officer of a decayed and crumbling empire. Superannuated Constantinople had lost its feeble hold upon him. Even the neighbouring Lombards could no more alarm him. Charlemain, the ablest prince of the time, and inferior in ability to few or no princes ever known, was his protector rather than his sovereign. He had become, in fact, a reigning feudatory under that powerful monarch, to whom he looked far more for safety than control. So great an alteration in position was no work, and could be none, of a few years or events. It could only flow from a series of transactions, converging upon some one point, extending over a long course of years. Authentic history supplies the means of tracing and connecting such a series. An inquirer into the eighth century's annals can solve the problem presented by papal Rome. Every step towards the proud position which she long maintained, and even yet has far from lost, can be accurately traced. But no advantage that she gained will bear the impress of divinity. On the contrary, all her conduct will be found as worldly as the prizes which it made her own.

Among the more conspicuous of her instruments was an Englishman, named originally Winfrid, but whose fame was gained under the name of Boniface. He was a man of whom England may be justly proud; for nothing could exceed his self-devotion, and from unworthy motives he might seem to have been entirely free. Still there was a weakness in his character which fitted him for the tool of designing men, and forbids a hasty reliance on his judgment. He seems to have imbibed in early life a degree of defer-

ence for the papal see that may be considered as fanatical, and which some of the more candid Romanists have pronounced excessive. Hence all his energies were spent in exalting the Roman Church, and he lent himself eventually to that papal interference with Frankish politics, which modern admirers of the Latin system would fain bury in oblivion. Of his native country this eminent personage was little more than a nursling. Hence he receives no great notice in *The Anglo-Saxon Church*. Enough is, however, said of him in that work, to make readers feel a respect for his memory. Still it follows Inett in connecting him with the council of Cloveshoo, and supposing that he might be disappointed by the results of that assembly.¹ As for the former matter, the connection between Boniface and Cloveshoo is no creation of Protestant prejudice. William of Malmesbury is an ancient authority for it. More modern authorities are the illustrious Benedictine, Mabillon, and the editors of the councils. Undoubtedly, there is no

¹ "One who considers this affair,—together with the character of Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, and the mighty warmth with which he pursued the interest of the Roman grandeur, and the relish and air with which he relates the services done for that Church, and the mean and abject manner with which he begged to be restored to the legantine power, voided by the death of pope Zacchary, together with what the French historian (Mezeray) says of him, that upon all occasions he contrived things so, that all he did made still more and more for the pope's sovereign power, and tended chiefly to that end, — can conclude nothing else, but that his address to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, had its beginning from a consideration of the same kind, and that he hoped, by his friendship with that prelate, to bring the English Church to follow the example of the French, or at least to procure some resolutions favourable to the see of Rome." (Inett, i. 174.) As these views are sufficiently fortified by references, there is every reason why subsequent writers should "repeat" them. Their "improvements" upon them are, of course, matters of opinion. But, upon the whole, English books are favourable to Boniface.

suggestion in these quarters, that Boniface hoped for a specimen of subserviency to the see of Rome from this council, similar to that which he had lately obtained from a conciliar body upon the Continent. But his letter which gave rise to the English council contained particulars of the advantage gained by Rome, in the foreign one. Protestants, therefore, have generally thought him desirous of making the one a model for the other. Of course, there is no absolute proof that he entertained any such desire. Public men are not in the habit of telling roundly to the world all that passes in their minds. As Boniface is no exception to this rule, there is an opening for contemptuously dismissing those who think him to have sought papal greatness in suggesting the council of Cloveshoo, as builders of "a fabric wholly in the air."¹ But if history is to be a body, and not a skeleton, it must be a mixture of ascertained facts, and highly probable inferences. Now, in this case, the ascertained facts tally sufficiently with Protestant inferences upon them. It is true that Romish writers, who record and connect the facts, have not drawn the inferences. But that is no bar to the drawing of them by writers of a different class. The ecclesiastical history of the eighth century is no delightful subject of contemplation to an attached member of the Latin Church. It accounts for that Church's position upon matter of fact, and often upon discreditable principles.

¹ "But unfortunately, the whole fabric is built in the air. It will not bear examination. It is contradicted in every particular by the very documents on which it is supposed to be founded." (Lingard, i. 386.) The history of Boniface, and of his age, will show this "unfortunate fabric" to be more solidly founded.

Hence Romish writers are naturally unwilling to probe this portion of ecclesiastical history more deeply than is absolutely necessary for their particular objects. The disputes between the Courts of France and Rome have, indeed, brought much valuable light, and many important admissions, upon this portion of history, from Gallican pens. But authors of that class are unlikely to furnish any inferences unfavourable to the papacy, which their own immediate purposes did not call for. A view of the whole case is only to be expected from those who are unfriendly both to the Court and the Church of Rome. That such writers are fully justified in supposing Boniface anxious for some conciliar submission to the papacy from England, is highly probable both from his own history, and from that of his times. Public attention may very usefully be sought for each of these histories at present. Well-informed Englishmen think much less of such facts than their forefathers did, and hence undoubtedly have come some of those changes in the religious world which are often thought pregnant with greater changes still. But let knowledge which has grown obsolete be revived, and many questions will again be viewed as they were in former times.

As Boniface's importance was wholly continental, Englishmen have seldom thought of him except as an honour to their country. They have neither examined his operations critically, nor tracked him closely as a public man. In Germany the case is different. From that country the impress of his labours is not yet effaced, and varying estimates are put upon them. German members of the Latin Church treat him as a

saint, and style him the apostle of their nation. His title to that character is at best equivocal. He was no mere Christian missionary among pagans. Their conversion was one of his objects; but he had also continual conflicts with people who already professed Christianity. They would admit neither the usages nor the authority of Rome. Hence they were thought by Boniface to stand in urgent want of his interference. Undoubtedly their Christian profession is represented as most imperfect, and in some cases as all but obliterated by a relapse into heathenism. Such representations come, however, from papal partisans, and means of estimating them correctly have not reached posterity. But it is enough to know that Boniface was rather the reformer than the apostle of Germany. One of his reformations, too, was unquestionably the rooting of papal influence in that country. Even French Romanists of the Gallican school consider his zeal for this object as entirely overdone.¹ Germans, not of the Latin Church, of course, think much worse of his exertions in their country. Looking at him as a servile tool of the papacy, they have represented Boniface as little or nothing of a benefactor to their native land. The Centuriators of Magdeburg declare him to have done more harm than good.² Mosheim, and his able annotator Schlegel, are both severe upon him. In thus treating him these writers have been considered by Dr. Murdock, Mosheim's American

¹ He was wholly devoted to the Roman see. (Du Pin, vi. 96.) For another French authority to the same effect, see the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 114, note 2.

² *In his ministry he did some things well, but most things very badly* ("pessime"). viii. 794.

translator, as barely justified.¹ But opinions from such quarters are deserving of great respect, and in this case the parties, probably, take the same view that is taken by the generality of learned German Protestants. It is therefore worth while to enter into Boniface's history more fully than has been done in *the Anglo-Saxon Church*, as a mere matter of literary interest. But higher considerations demand a more detailed account of him, at a time when every thing Romish is carefully fenced out from accurate investigation.

Winfrid has been represented by Marianus and Trithemius as an Hiberno-Scot.² But he speaks of himself, when on the Continent, as *born and bred in over-sea Saxony*; that is, among the Anglo-Saxons.³ The current account makes him a native of Crediton, or Kirton, in Devonshire⁴; and such is probably the fact, since his disciple and biographer, Willibald, states him to have been sent by his father for education to a monastery at Exeter.⁵ It was a step which the parent most unwillingly took, for he was passionately fond of his boy, and meant him for some secular capacity. There is every reason to believe that Winfrid was a child of more than ordinary intelligence, and hence a father was fully justified in thinking him qualified for making a figure in the busier walks of life. But he had not long the pleasure of giving way to such anti-

¹ *Eccl. Hist.* ed. 1845, ii. 113, 114.

² Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* iii. p. 2. page 2.

³ "Synodus et ecclesia in qua natus et nutritus fui; id est, in transmarina Saxonia, Lundunensis synodus." Bonifacius Zachariæ. *S. Bonif. Opp.* Lond. 1844, i. 104.

⁴ Camden.

⁵ *Vita S. Bonif. Archiep. Magunt. Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* iii. 5.

cipations. The country then was ill supplied with churches, and religious teaching depended considerably upon itinerant missionaries. These preachers often found entertainment in the more wealthy houses; and there, or thence, addressed such congregations as could be assembled. Some of these travelling ministers put up at Winfrid's father's, and henceforth nothing would satisfy the boy but such a vocation as theirs for himself. His imagination, probably, was fired by the respect within doors and the applause without, which his father's guests received.¹ Such things often give a lasting impulse to thoughtful childhood. Parents, displeased by the impression, are prone to treat it as a boyish fancy, which another will soon thrust aside. But a chord may thus be struck upon a mind, which, though immature, is powerful, that will never cease to vibrate while life remains. Winfrid's father, accordingly, found a sacerdotal taste firmly rooted in his boy. His own opposition to it was overcome by a fit of sickness. A parent, circumstanced like him, even in more enlightened times, would be very likely to take this as an intimation that he had selfishly resisted a sacrifice which heaven demanded. At all events, he determined at once to gratify his favourite child. While still sick, he sent him off to Exeter, as a monastic pupil. After sufficient probation there, young Winfrid was removed for farther instruction to the mo-

¹ *But when some presbyters, or clergymen, as is the custom in those countries, came for the sake of preaching to the people or laity, and put up at the town and house of his foresaid father, he presently began, as far as he could at such an early age, to talk with them about heavenly things, and inquire what might hereafter profit himself and his infirmity. Willibald ut supra.*

nastery of Nutscele. That his boyish tastes had put him on a way of life for which he was adapted, was now shown by the rise of his reputation. Ina, king of the West-Saxons, wanted some persons fit for acquainting Brihtwald, archbishop of Canterbury, with the results of council, recently holden for local objects, in Wessex. Winfrid was recommended by his own abbot, and other eminent ecclesiastics, as one whom it might be desirable to send upon this honourable mission. His friends proved right, as he acquitted himself in a manner satisfactory to all parties. He panted, however, for more stirring scenes than England offered. Soon after his return from Kent, he determined upon embarking for the continent as a missionary. The field of labour that he chose was Friesland: but it proved a barren one; Ratbod, the pagan duke of that country, or king, as old writers generally call him, being then in active hostility with Charles Martel, the famous Frankish mayor of the palace. Friesland had already been partially converted, and provided with churches: but it seems to have been by Frankish means.¹ Hence these

¹ *The greatest part of Christ's churches which before had been subjected to the empire of the Franks in Friesland, was devastated and destroyed, from the pressure of Ratbod's persecution, and the expulsion of God's servants that had taken place. (Ibid. 9.)* The elder Pepin, father of Charles Martel, had conquered Ratbod several years before, and taken from him part of his dominions, making him pay tribute for the rest. Charles was Pepin's son, by Alpaide, a concubine, or left-handed wife; but Plectrude, whom some have thought him to have divorced, but who seems really to have been his acknowledged wife to the last, survived him. She lost her son Grimoald by assassination during Pepin's mortal illness; but he left a child named Theodald, whom she determined upon maintaining as mayor of the palace in his grandfather's room. For the purpose of securing this appointment for him, which, indeed, was made by Pepin before death, Plectrude imprisoned Charles Martel at Cologne. That personage, however, eventually so illustrious,

churches were naturally viewed by Ratbod as nurseries and strong-holds of a political influence adverse to his own. Interest lent intensity to his pagan prejudices, and he looked with suspicion or abhorrence upon all Christian missionaries. Winfrid soon, therefore, found himself unable to stay in Friesland. He returned, accordingly, to England, and on reaching his old monastery found the abbot languishing for death. When the vacancy actually occurred, the monks would hear of no other new superior than himself. As Winfrid, however, would not abandon his missionary projects, he escaped from farther importunity by requesting Daniel, bishop of Winchester, to recommend some one else for abbot. Not only was this done, but also Winfrid's continental schemes were approved. He received from Daniel two letters, an open one, still extant, as a general recommendation; another, closed, which is lost, as an introduction to the pope.¹

The papal chair was then occupied by Gregory II., a prelate whose name is mixed up with some very questionable transactions, both theological and political. This Gregory has the honour, or the infamy,

escaped, and found a large portion of the Frankish nobles quite willing to receive him as their chief. But Rainfroy had been previously chosen mayor of the palace, and Charles was obliged to contest that dignity with him by arms. It was during these confusions that Winfrid first came over to the Continent. Ratbod, whose people he designed to evangelise, was then in alliance with Rainfroy, under the hope of recovering his former authority, and at war with Charles. In all probability the Christian congregations, already formed in Friesland, were odious to the pagan prejudices both of himself and of his unconverted subjects. Hence the persecution of them could hardly fail of being popular, and might even be thought expedient, from their connection with Christians elsewhere. Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* ii. 41. Gifford, *Hist. France*, i. 138.

¹ Daniel's letter is the first in Dr. Giles's collection.

of standing up sturdily to defend *holy images*, as many of his contemporaries talked. He also took no unimportant part in the rebellious movements which withdrew Rome, and other Italian dependencies, from the imperial sovereignty. Men who do such things, even before their doings begin, have seldom the nicest sense of right and wrong. The English candidate for this pontiff's favourable notice finally left his native land in the autumn of 718. He embarked at London, or *Lundenwic*, in Willibald's language, and on reaching *Quentavic*, the modern Etaples, in Picardy, he waited until a considerable body of companions joined him.¹ This may remind one of modern Mahometan pilgrimages to Mecca, in which the several parties meet at certain points, and seek their place of destination together. In their way through Gaul, Winfrid and his fellow-travellers appear to have made resting-places of spots famed for relics.² At Rome their first object was St. Peter's, to which they brought various offerings. After some days Winfrid obtained an au-

¹ *Until a supervening multitude of colleagues had congregated itself.* Willibald, *Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* ii. 11.

² *When they were all collected, they visit many churches of the Gauls illustrious for relics, for the sake of prayer, that they might commend their journey to God.* (Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* ii. 52.) Willibald says nothing about *relics*, only that *they went to many churches of the saints to pray that they might more safely cross the Alpine summits of the mountains by the High-throned's aid, and might find the Lombards more humanely disposed towards them, and might more easily escape the ferocity of soldiers' pride.* (*Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* ii. 11.) Mabillon is, however, evidently right in supposing that the churches gone to, were not mere titular dedications to saints, but actual receptacles of their remains; for Willibald immediately adds that the pilgrims arrived safely at Rome *by the patronage of the saints in aid of their prayers, and the Lord God's dispensation.* From the whole we must infer that saintly aid was sought in spots thought most likely to afford it, namely, in churches which contained the bodies of saints, or parts of them.

dience of the pope, and gave him Daniel's commendatory letter. He subsequently had several interviews with him: so that Gregory was able to judge pretty completely of his powers, and to digest a scheme for employing them. The task prescribed for him was a mission to Germany: for which Winfrid left Rome in May, 719. He took with him a great quantity of relics¹; and although that fact is rather chargeable upon the time than upon any individual, it should be noticed as a clue to the sort of divinity which Winfrid, or Boniface, as he was henceforth called, was likely to dispense. Gregory's particular object in planning this German mission is open to dispute. The Centuriators represent it as a scheme to bring under the yoke of Rome churches which had hitherto declined it.² Means of testing this representation sufficiently do not exist: for as the papal party ultimately triumphed over all the West, records unfavourable to it have generally perished. It is, however, known, that in Thuringia, where Boniface's German mission seems to have begun, Christianity had already taken root. He is really, though not expressly, painted by Willibald as nothing more than a reformer there. Hincmar expressly describes his mission as one of *reformation*.³

¹ *A numerous multitude of relics being collected.* (Willibald, *ut supra*.) Mabillon says nothing about this.

² *Gregory the Second, at that time, was meditating schemes as to how he might gain the churches of Germany (which, although they professed the doctrine of Christ, were not under the pontifical yoke), and gradually make them his own.* (viii. 791.) This Gregory was commonly known among his contemporaries as *Gregorius junior*, to distinguish him from Gregory I. or the Great.

³ *The holy man of God, according to the apostolic pontiff's mandate given to him, addressed the senators, and in short the chiefs of all the people in Turingia, with spiritual words, and called them to the true*

The people, we are told, had been generally misled. Some of the clergy were unchaste, and religion wore an uncanonical appearance.¹ In attacking these alleged evils, the English missionary appears to have met with considerable attention. Very seldom, indeed, are energy and perseverance like his altogether fruitless. In this case, these qualities must have been helped by the relics which Boniface brought from Rome. A value for such things, even in a more enlightened age, has been often shown by men of considerable penetration. Semi-barbarians would be easily led into coveting and dreading Boniface's Roman importations, as captivating baubles and powerful charms. The objects really gained by his mission in Thuringia must be for the most part matters of conjecture. Nothing attacked by him is distinctly mentioned, besides clerical incontinence. This charge might, however, often only mean, that certain clergymen had married. But suppose the allegation really well founded in every instance, its obvious remedy was the overthrow of a tyrannical and hollow system of asceticism, which filled clerical abodes with impurity. Had papal Rome set her face against a fana-

way of knowledge and light of understanding, which in fact they had long lost before, for the greatest part from the seduction of bad teachers. The priests and presbyters besides, of whom some were earnest in the religious worship of Almighty God, but others, contaminated by fornicating pollution, had lost the continence of chastity, which those who serve at sacred altars ought to have preserved, he brought round by evangelical discourses as far as he could, from the depravity of wickedness to the rectitude of canonical constitution. Willibald, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* ii. 12.

¹ Gregory, the second from the first, and also the third Gregory, sent Winfrid, first, when a presbyter, but afterwards, when ordained a bishop, Winfrid, surnamed Boniface, as legate of the apostolic see to reform the religion of Christianity ("ad reformandam Christianitatis religionem"). *Apud De Marca, De Concord. Sacerd.* ii. 616.

tical notion, that was to make clergymen like angels, but really has made many of them more like demons, she would have consulted, for her own credit, individual happiness and public enlightenment. Libraries would have contained no such books as those which they owe to the penitential system. The foul dissection pictured in these pages is the obvious growth of corrupt imaginations under unnatural restraints. But papal greatness could not be achieved without pandering freely to the religious weaknesses of man. When, therefore, the popular voice, led by a short-sighted fanaticism, clamoured for clerical celibacy, politic Rome bowed obsequiously before the cry.

Whatever applause Boniface might have gained in his first mission to Thuringia, it is plain that he did no more than feel his way in that country. He could not have reached it before Midsummer, and by Christmas he must have been at Utrecht. He was three years there, we are told, assisting Willibrord.¹ Now, as he left Rome in May, 719, and was in that city again towards the close of 723, three years, or thereabouts, passed at Utrecht, would allow little more than a flying visit to Thuringia. Willibrord was a Northumbrian, educated in the monastery of Ripon, who sailed for the Continent as a missionary, with eleven or twelve companions, in the year 690.² He would fain have fixed himself at Utrecht, or in its neighbourhood; but Ratbod, who subsequently disap-

¹ Willibald. *Othlon. Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* ii. 12. 32.

² Alcuin says, in his *Life of Willibrord*, that twelve missionaries went over besides him; but Mabillon thinks that the whole party consisted of twelve. *B. Flac. Alc. Opp.* ii. 185.

pointed Boniface, prevented him. He therefore went into the Frankish territories, and preached with considerable success under patronage of the elder Pepin. By that able mayor of the palace he was sent, with an honourable attendance and handsome presents, to Rome, where he received episcopal ordination from Pope Sergius, with the name of Clement. He then returned into Pepin's territories, and laboured with very considerable success in the northern parts of them. He next made another experiment upon Ratbod; but although that chieftain treated him civilly, he could see no prospect of a settlement in his country. Being thus foiled, he went as a missionary among the Danes, but his expedition appears to have left no great impression upon them. At length, Charles Martel, who had succeeded his father Pepin, overcame Ratbod, and settled Willibrord as Bishop of Utrecht.¹ As he left England in his thirty-third year, he was, when Boniface arrived, sixty-three, and beginning to find his age unequal to the calls of a missionary bishopric. Another two years, or so, made him feel his deficiencies more strongly still; and having now tested completely the qualifications of his countryman, he wished to make him his successor. Boniface, however, declined, not only from modesty, but also because he thought himself too young for the episcopal office.² These excuses being

¹ *Ibid.* 188. Willibrord appears to have died about the year 740. Alcuin's editor, Froben, takes that very year; but there are some difficulties which have caused other critics to prefer a different date. Willibrord baptized Charles Martel's under-sized but able son, the second Pepin, well known to nursery fame as *little king Pepin*.

² He thought it not strictly canonical to make bishops before fifty, and he was not yet so old. This, Mabillon observes, is fatal to the

pronounced insufficient, he pleaded his papal commission, which was granted with especial reference to Germany, and consequently would scarcely allow the acceptance of an appointment binding him down to Utrecht and its contiguity. On this, Willibrord gave up all farther thought of retaining him, and he set out again on his missionary travels. He now preached among the Saxons and Hessians; but chronology forbids us to think that much could have been effected by him. His new hearers appear to have been partially Christians before he came among them¹; but either they retained much of their ancient paganism; or they had, what Boniface might consider almost as bad, or even worse, no reverence for the Roman see. The commencement, however, of his labours among them appeared so promising, that he thought himself justified in drawing a favourable picture of it for the

notion which some have entertained, that he was born in 670. He began to assist Willibrord about the close of 719; and when offered the episcopate by him he spoke of himself as still a young man. He could not therefore be fifty. Most likely he was under forty. Middle life may be considered as beginning at that age. There is really no canon restraining persons under fifty from the episcopate. Men are canonically capable of it at thirty. Mabillon supposes Boniface's notion to have been founded on *Numbers*, viii. 25, which assigns the higher order of Levitical ministrations to individuals of fifty and upwards.

¹ *Willibald asserts that he converted them from the worship of idols: that is, he persuaded them to approve Roman and popish superstitions and ceremonies, and to build monasteries. (Centt. Magdeb. viii. 792.) Willibald charges them with retaining a sacrilegious opinion of idols, under a certain name of Christianity ("sub quodam Christianitatis nomine." Acta SS. Ord. Ben. ii. 13.). The centuriators, therefore, are not without grounds for their language, though it is severe even to intemperance. Boniface, in this as in some other cases, evidently dealt with parties who were professed Christians before they saw him, and was no doubt very eager to press upon them the authority of Rome. But he might, notwithstanding, have somewhat purified their religion. It is quite likely that he found pagan principles and practices yet retaining some hold upon them.*

papal court. In return for his account he received an invitation to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop, and regularly confirmed in the name of Boniface.¹ He was not ordained to any particular diocese, but as an itinerant missionary bishop. That a principal object of the papal court, in his appointment, was the extension of its own influence, appears from a remarkable oath exacted from him. No such engagement, it has been said, was ever imposed before.²

¹ He was consecrated, Nov. 30. (St. Andrew's day), 723. Mabillon observes that he must have been called Boniface before, because that name is given to him in Pope Gregory's letter, dated May, 719, and in a letter of the same year from the abbeſs Bugga. This latter is addressed to Boniface, or Winfrid.

² "It is the first instance that occurs in history, of an oath of obedience, or, as we may call it, of allegiance taken to the pope." (Bower, *Hist. of the Popes*, iii. 191.) The oath is given by Othlon from ancient records ("quod scilicet in antiquis exemplaribus invenitur ita scriptum." *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* ii. 33.). Willibald does not mention this oath, but Othlon speaks of it as exacted from Boniface by the pope, that he might bind him more strictly to show obedience to himself and his successors, as also to observe the whole of the sacred faith that was committed to him ("deinde ut eum ad obedientiam sibi successoribusque suis exhibendam, necnon ad omnem sacræ fidei traditionem observandam arctius constringeret, exegit et accepit ab eo juramentum"). Omitting the formal parts, the following is this oath, *I Boniface, by the grace of God bishop, promise to thee, blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, and to thy vicar, blessed Pope Gregory, and to his successors, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, a Trinity inseparable, and by this thy most sacred body: that I will show forth the whole belief and purity of the holy Catholic faith, and that I will persist, by God's help, in the unity of the same faith, on which thing wholly depends without doubt the salvation of Christians: that I will never consent in any way, at any body's persuasion, against the unity of the common and universal church; but, as I have said, show forth in all things my faith and purity, as well as concurrence with thee and the advantage of thy church, to whom the power of binding and loosing has been given by the Lord God, and to thy foresaid vicar, and his successors. And besides, if I shall know of any prelates walking contrary to the ancient institutes of the holy Fathers, that I will have no communion nor conjunction with them, but rather if I can prevent them, will do so: at all events, will immediately make a faithful report to my apostolic lord. But if (which heaven forbid!) I shall be tempted in any way, either by thought, or*

But this does not appear to be the fact.¹ It seems, however, to have been an unusual engagement, and it

opportunity, to do any thing contrary to the course of this my promise, may I be bound a culprit in the eternal judgment, may I incur the avenging fate of Ananias and Sapphira, who presumed even in what was their own to put a cheat upon you. The clause, *thy most sacred body*, shows that Boniface took this path over the supposed relics of St. Peter. He was, therefore, ordained in the Vatican, and no doubt, considered himself, according to the notions of the time, under an additional obligation from the remains before him.

¹ Among the notes copied by Dr. Giles from Würdtwein, who published an edition of Boniface at Mentz, in 1789, is one that speaks angrily of those who represent Boniface's oath as new. *They ought to know*, says Würdtwein, *from ecclesiastical history, that it was already usual under Pope Gelasius, about the end of the fifth century. Besides Pope Gregory II. acted most prudently in exacting this profession, since Boniface, although recommended by Daniel, a bishop of England, being an entirely unknown stranger from a kingdom far away, was to be sent to preach Christ's Gospel in Germany, which now very long, as we shall see below, had not an archbishop. That prelate would deserve to be called improvident, who should entrust the cure of souls to a priest not proved, completely unknown. Besides, Boniface carried on the sacred business of his mission in Germany with consent of the princes and bishops.* (Bonif. Opp. ii. 244.) This laboured apology really makes rather worse the case that it professes to serve. If Boniface's oath had been known as a usual obligation, his biographer, Othlon, who lived in the eleventh century, would scarcely have inserted it at length. Any precedents for it under Gelasius are of little value. That personage passed a short pontificate in a constant struggle for the dignity of his see. An arrogant letter of his to the emperor Anastasius, makes those comparisons between regal and ecclesiastical power, which have been continually brought forward, sometimes in an exaggerated form, by sacerdotal spirits in after times. (Labbe. et Ccoss. iv. 1182.) This epistle to the bishops of Dardania expressly sets at nought the imperial presence, and refuses the metropolitical character to the prelate of Constantinople. (*Ibid.* 1207.) Precedents drawn from such a pontiff's actions to bear upon hierarchical questions, are obviously like the testimony of an interested witness. As for Würdtwein's representations, that Gregory acted only with common prudence, because he dealt with an unknown and untried agent, nothing can be more unfounded. Boniface had passed several months in Rome before, and had gone away with a papal commission which was discharged entirely to Gregory's satisfaction. That Boniface was to act with consent of the princes and bishops may be true: but the princes to whom he first applied, and with a letter from the pope, were the powerful mayors of the Frankish palace, who were very eager for papal support, from their ambitious views and equivocal position, and who had ample means of over-ruling episcopal opposition to Boniface. It makes, therefore, very little against anti-papal objections to Boniface's

is one which not only affords a clue to the pope's objects, but also to Boniface's character. It is very likely that real evils, urgently needing correction, were to be found among the semi-barbarous tribes to whom Boniface was commissioned. But such amendment did not necessarily involve any submission to Rome. Boniface, therefore, by undertaking to attempt it on the terms exacted by the pope, showed himself of a spirit neither wise, well-instructed, nor independent. He went forth as a trammelled human agent in a human cause. He was not wise enough to rest upon infallible Scripture, acting on a sound understanding and strict integrity. His mind had received an impulse from precedents and constructions devised by fallible men to feed superstitious fancies and serve selfish ends. Meritorious, therefore, as he was in many things, his interference in English affairs could scarcely fail of being mixed up with a strong spirit of papal party. Enough, perhaps, has been said already to claim indulgence for this opinion; and when the whole case is brought under view, a strong determination to suppress every thing unfavourable to the Vatican may be thought necessary to make Boniface look otherwise than very much of the tool that Roman ambition stood in need of. Such as do not like to view him thus, must confine themselves to books enslaved by Rome. Authors of the Gallican school, though well adapted for showing off Boniface to advantage, do, notwithstanding, throw a

oath, when an ultra-hierarchy is called upon to furnish a precedent for it, and when its imposition in the case under notice is justified by misrepresentation and suppression.

party mist about him, which renders some of his movements rather suspicious. Every compatriot will freely allow him to have been a great man in his way, and probably he did upon the whole considerable good. But a Protestant inquirer into his history will readily discern that he had neither any enlarged insight into scriptural truth, nor any genuine loftiness of spirit. Hence, at first, he lent himself to an encroaching see, and afterwards to an aspiring family.

When he started from Rome the sworn vassal of its bishop, he took with him a letter from Gregory to Charles Martel, the Frankish mayor of the palace. Theodoric was king of the Franks, but of him the pope took no notice¹; a significant omission, which must have been pleasing to Charles. That illustrious minister had been imbued by some who did not admire Boniface, with a prejudice against him. But finding him so warmly taken up by the pope, with whom Charles himself was anxious to stand well, he too entered zealously into his views. As Germany was his first object, Martel furnished him with a letter to the chief people there. They were informed by this, which took the tone of a sovereign prince, and not of a minister, that Boniface was under the especial protection of the powerful mayor of the palace.² Being thus recommended and secured, the missionary's extraordinary talents for his work were

¹ *Then the pontiff, in a letter, dated on the calends of December, in the same year, first recommended Boniface "To the glorious Lord, Charles, Duke of the Franks," no account being had of King Theodoric. Mabillon. Annal. Bened. ii. 68.*

² *This letter stands as the thirty-third among those of Boniface, and is really conceived in those words which mark rather a king than a mayor of the palace, which is what he calls himself. Ibid. 71.*

crowned with very brilliant success. The lingering paganism of Germany was beaten down to the dust under the persevering fervour of his assaults. The Christianity of that country was gradually cleared of its real or imputed corruptions. For objects of such magnitude Boniface quickly found himself inadequately supplied with instruments, and letters that he wrote home for aid were answered by the successive arrivals of a great many new English missionaries and teachers of useful arts.¹ He was the more in want of help, because his career, though highly successful, encountered great opposition.² The pagans

¹ Willibald says nothing of Boniface's letters home, but speaks as if the arrivals from Britain had resulted from the high character which he had gained in most parts of Europe. His new assistants appear to have been *servants of God*, that is, persons of the monastic profession. Many of that class practised various useful arts, and no doubt were willing to instruct converts in them. Willibald says nothing of female assistants, but Othlon names several. An ancient anonymous writer, cited by Mabillon in a note upon Othlon, makes these co-operators to have come not only from Britain and Ireland, but also from France.

² Boniface writes to the abbess Eadburga, *Above all things it is the heaviest, that the treachery of false brethren beats the malice of pagan infidels.* (Opp. i. 51.) Again: he writes to pope Zachary, *I have suffered many injuries and persecutions, chiefly from false priests, from adulterous deacons, and fornicating clerks. But my greatest labour has been against two heretics, very bad and public, and blasphemers against God and against the catholic faith. One of these, who is called Aldebert, from the country of his birth, is a Gaul; the other, who is called Clement, by birth is a Scot: in the kind of error they are different, but in weight of sins alike.* (Ibid. 121.) Boniface does not, however, in this letter to Zachary make out any very clear case against these two opponents. Aldebert he describes as extremely popular. When he attacked him, he found him looked upon as a *most holy apostle*, and on many accounts to be venerated. He appears, however, to have represented himself as possessed of certain relics, brought to him by an angel from the ends of the world, which rendered him able to obtain from God whatever he should desire. As Boniface himself always travelled with relics, this accusation may merely serve to remind one of the old proverb, *Two of a trade*, &c. It is clear that Aldebert would have nothing to do with Roman relics; and it is very likely, from the superstitious character of his age, that he represented some of his own as infinitely better. People

naturally were up in arms against a preacher who denounced extinction to their cherished belief. Nor were the Christians, branded as half-heathens, fornicators, and schismatics, at all acquiescent under Boniface's loud calls to reform. On the contrary, they opposed him in every way that lay in their power. Writing was not neglected, but as their party was the one that failed, its controversial pieces have perished. Hence it is impossible to know accurately either its own views, or the ground which Boniface took up.¹ It is only known that papal authority was firmly rooted by him in Germany, that his exertions inflicted a shock upon institutions merely pagan from which they never could recover, and also made people generally think marriage so heinous in clergymen, that any one of them who should marry must be worthless, and any married man who should not send away his wife must be inexcusable.²

had no notion of doing without such things. Other charges against Aldebert resolve themselves into attacks upon the dedication of churches to apostles or martyrs, upon pilgrimages to Rome, and upon the confinement of public worship to places episcopally consecrated, together with an extravagant, and even blasphemous estimate of himself. The accusations against Clement resolve themselves into attacks upon the canons and the Fathers, Jerome, Austin, and Gregory. If some abatement be therefore made for painting merely by an adversary, neither of these reprobated persons may have been so bad as Boniface represents him. The *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, accordingly (695), represents both Adelbert and Clement as little or nothing else than maintainers, against Boniface's innovations, of that scriptural doctrine which later ages have called Protestantism.

¹ Clement wrote a book against Boniface; which book, if it were extant, might give us information about many things, but it was burnt by the papists, although even Zachary would have prevented it. *Catal. Test. Ver.* 695.

² Pope Zachary reminds Boniface of the scriptural authorities for one clerical marriage, and then adds, *It is lawful to make use of this before priest's orders are taken; but from the day when they are, men are to be prohibited even from their own wives.* (Bonif. *Opp.* i. 107.)

But Boniface, though called the apostle (it should be *the papal apostle*) of Germany did not confine his exertions to that country. He also made a conspicuous and important figure in the Frankish territories to the westward. Not only was he befriended by Charles Martel, but still more, after that eminent officer's death, by Carloman, his elder son, who seems to have been exactly the sort of person that is wanted by an artful and enterprising religious leader. He finished his course by retiring into a monastery from a throne, for a throne he had in every thing but name. To this retirement, Mabillon says¹, he was

The letter proceeds to state that some priests were even worse than mere seculars, not only disregarding the prohibition to touch one wife, but even having several. It is a pity that men who had such cases under their eyes, should never have suspected that they might be in the apostle's mind when he talks of *one wife*, and that in waging a just and necessary war with a great evil, they should never have seen the danger of setting up a delusive ascetic principle, which threatened other evils very nearly if not quite as great.

¹ "Hujus propositi auctorem habuit Bonifacium." (*Annal. Bened.* ii. 131.) No authority is given, but both Willibald and Othlon bear testimony to Boniface's influence with Carloman. Hence it is most likely that the retirement of that prince was a step taken under his advice, if not also by his immediate suggestion. Eginhart says, that Carloman retired, *it is uncertain for what causes, but it seems, because he was fired by the love of a contemplative way of life.* (*De Vita Car. Mag. Traj. ad Rhen.* 1711, p. 22.) Ado of Vienne says, *Carloman went away to Rome according to his vow.* (*Bibl. PP.* vii. 372.) He seems to have been distressed from thinking of the numbers killed under his orders, a year before, in the German war. (Mabillon, *ut supra.*) Hence he probably made some vow, which appears to have escaped Mabillon's notice, to retire from a situation that led him into so many cruelties. He could scarcely have acted as he did without consulting with Boniface. He withdrew to Rome in 747, and became a monk there. As a retreat for himself he built a monastery on Mount Soracte, in honour of Pope Sylvester, who was said to have been concealed there during the persecution under Constantine; a persecution that never occurred. Carloman found his retirement in this place continually interrupted by the Franks who came to Rome, and would not go away without paying their respects to him. Hence he transferred his residence to the great Benedictine abbey upon the *Monte Cassino*.

instigated by Boniface. If it be so, he made a clear coast for the assumption of an ostensible, as well as a real throne, for the younger brother, our old nursery friend, *little King Pipin*. He had, at all events, great influence with Carloman, and his chief successes were achieved in those portions of the Frankish territory which fell to that prince on Martel's death. Men born to power, but steadily travelling onwards to insignificance, under the guidance of indolence, morbid fanaticism, and incapacity, are treasures to such as bring a keen worldly sight into the territories of religion. Boniface also ingratiated himself with Carloman's younger, abler, and more enterprising brother. Pepin was not likely to forget the letter brought by him from Rome to his father, in which that very able personage was treated as an independent prince instead of a subject. He naturally thought well of the papacy. Its influence was immense, and its cool disregard of the Merovingian puppets plainly hinted what might be expected from it when the time came for his own formal assumption of a sovereign station. Hence Boniface, who sought attention as an accredited agent from the papal see, enjoyed its fullest confidence, laboured enthusiastically for its elevation, and was just as fit for serving it as he was willing, found every facility for his operations under both Charles Martel's sons. He succeeded, accordingly, but after much difficulty and delay in forcing an obligation upon the Frankish metropolitans to seek palls from Rome.¹ It

¹ The pall was not given to all the metropolitans of the Gauls before the times of the Roman pontiff Zachary, that is, before about the year 744. (De Marca, iii. 40.) The decree synodically made which re-

has been thought that before he contrived to render this badge of alien vassalage imperative upon the archbishops of Gaul, they used a pall of their own, which has been called the Gallican pall.¹ But, per-

quired metropolitans to seek this distinction, dates two years earlier, and, in consequence of it, Pope Zachary was requested by Boniface and Carloman to send three palls, one for the archbishop of Rouen, another for him of Rheims, and a third for him of Sens. Nothing could be more relished at Rome than this foolish application. Metropolitans out of Italy were not fettered by the Roman see, and as the bishops of that see derived a great part of their consequence from professing a scrupulous regard for the canons, they could not make any open attack upon the canonical proceedings of distant churches. They, accordingly, tempted remote archbishops into their thralldom by the decoy of complimentary palls. But Boniface found the Gallic archbishops, after they had a little cooled, not so ambitious as he could have wished, of the honour which they had been led into desiring. Hence he soon showed himself, at least, careless about the palls. Zachary complained of this, and Boniface requested more time, because the Franks, he said, *appeared unwilling to fulfil their promises, and nobody could tell what would be their ultimate determination.* They were, in the end, won over by representations that the pall was a proper way of distinguishing metropolitans from suffragans, and implied an obligation on the wearer's part, to lead a stricter life than ordinary members of the episcopate. In this way the Gallic archbishops were cajoled out of their independence, it being soon made an established principle, that no man was a lawful archbishop who could not get a pall from Rome. *Ibid.* 40. 49. Bonif. *Opp.* i. 180.

¹ The sixth canon of the first Council of Mâcon, holden in 581, is "Ut archiepiscopus sine pallio missas dicere non præsumat." De Marca evidently, had he written English, would have translated this canon thus, *That an archbishop without a pall presume not to say masses.* Now, as the only archbishop with a Roman pall then, was he of Arles, the capital of Gaul, and as that pall was given to him, because he was the recognised vicar or agent of the Roman see, De Marca thinks that other archbishops in Gaul must have used a domestic pall, which differed in some respects from the Roman. (*De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp.* vii. 2. tom. iii. p. 48.) Fimiani would shake this view at once by the want of articles in the Latin language, which would justify the translation of *archiepiscopus* by the *archbishop*, and he would understand the canon as referring only to the archbishop of Arles, who had a pall from Rome. (*Ibid.* 265.) Metropolitans, he says, were then not habitually called archbishops. The intentions imputed to Boniface in his famous council, Fimiani meets, by saying that he had no authority given him by the pope over the Church of Gaul, and that his council was holden under sanction of the Gallic princes, who would be no parties to the

haps, this view is disputable, and it involves questions rather of an antiquarian than of a practical nature. It is enough to know that Boniface's management established in Gaul an unusual and unpalatable degree of subserviency to the Roman see. Papal agents have generally been so successful under weak princes, and such a prince, probably, was Carloman. Pepin, undoubtedly, was the reverse; but he wanted to be king of the Franks instead of mayor of the palace, and Rome might help him to gain this coveted step. She did so help him, as will appear more fully hereafter, and Boniface acted as her agent in this important business. In order to make men acquiesce under his usurpation, it was thought advisable to seek support

degradation of their prelacy. But these princes were mayors of the palace, and we know what was done by one of them, shortly after, under papal sanction, and by the use of Boniface as a tool. The other of them was Carlomar. Fimiani then conjectures the delay, which undoubtedly took place about these palls, to have arisen, not from any reluctance towards them as things of an insidious nature, but from difficulties as to the formal erection of the three archbishoprics. This he considers *credible*, and it certainly is *plausible*. There are no means either of confuting, or confirming it. Cardinal Bona does not see his way quite so clearly through this Mâcon difficulty. He is not sure that customs might be every where the same, and thinks De Marca's view to require more examination, since he never saw any thing to establish it. (*De Rebb. Liturg.* 247.) The difficulty upon the supposed existence of a Gallican pall does not merely turn upon the want of direct evidence for the existence of such a thing. The Mâcon canon forbids an archbishop, or the archbishop to say masses without a pall. Now, Bona tells us that the pope only uses the pall habitually, others being restricted from using it unless when they say mass on certain fixed days. De Marca observes, in contradistinction to this restriction, that the Gallic archbishops were to use the pall *as often as they shall celebrate the sacred sacrifice of the mass*; that is, in plain English, *when they officiate at the communion*. He might have gone farther. *Missæ* is a term that does not merely mean the communion. Other acts of worship, *sent up* to God, are also signified by it. Hence the Mâcon canon may have been meant to forbid any public ministrations of archbishops without the pall. This would strongly confirm De Marca's theory of a Gallican pall.

for him as God's anointed. Boniface lent himself to this plan, greatly to the annoyance of modern Romanists. From him it was that Pepin received unction as king of the Franks at Soissons.¹ This Jewish rite has generally been considered as then quite new to the West²; but a passage from Gildas makes it seem to have been used by the petty sovereigns of ancient Britain.³ That writer's language is, however, so declamatory and obscure, and his use of Scripture so very copious, that he might mean by anointing, nothing more than election to the sovereignty.

Thus our celebrated countryman rendered a most

¹ *Le Cointe denies that Pipin was anointed and crowned by Boniface at Soissons, contrary to the authority of all the ancients, for this reason, that this fact is not suitable to the piety and fame of the most holy prelate; since it would make him partaker of the perjury and wickedness perpetrated in turning out Childeric: that Pipin, therefore, was made king in an assembly at Soissons, as without the knowledge of Zachary, the Roman pontiff, so in the absence and without the knowledge of Boniface. I could wish, indeed, that each thing had been undone, but each is certain and ascertained.* Mabillon. *Annall. Bened.* ii. 153.

² *As for the king's anointing, it is not handed down by the old historians, that the ambassadors of the Franks said anything about it to Zachary. For this was not a usage and institution of our ancestors.—Therefore Zachary wished Pipin to be anointed, not that he should be made king, because a year before he had been raised to the throne of the kingdom by the Franks after the manner of their ancestors, but that the new king should be rendered more august among the Franks by a new rite, and more venerable to the people, and more favourable to the Roman church.* (Launoy, *Epist.* 646.) Pepin consulted the pope in 749, he became king in 750, and Boniface anointed him at Soissons in 751. It looks, therefore, as if he found his assumption pass off less quietly than he could have wished, and as if Boniface was willing to help him by playing the principal part in a new ceremony likely to take with a superstitious populace.

³ *Kings were anointed, and not by God, but for being more cruel than other people; and soon after they were slain by the anointers, not from an examination of the truth, and others chosen more inhuman.* (Gildas. edit. Stevenson, Lond. 1838, p. 27.) It seems not clear in this passage whether, the anointers mean those who caused an actual anointing, or only those who elected.

acceptable, but far from unobjectionable, service to the principal layman in western Europe. It is not reasonable to believe, that he was guided by selfish considerations in thus committing himself to a very conspicuous political movement, or even that Pepin thought of nothing but self in patronising him. Both parties, probably, looked upon their conduct as advantageous to religion. But it is needful to observe, that Boniface was a devoted partisan of the Roman see, and that Pepin's patronage of the pope was made highly advantageous to his own interests. It is, indeed, true, that Boniface, at one time, late in life, seemed to have forgotten Rome. When Pope Zachary died, he long forbore to take any notice of Stephen, who succeeded him. The pontiff could not endure this neglect, and Boniface was made to fear for the continuance of his legatine authority. This prospect was entirely too much for him, and he made his peace in such abject language as Romanists of the Gallican school have strongly disapproved.¹ What remains of

¹ *I earnestly entreat the clemency of your holiness with prayers which come from the bottom of my heart, that it may be my good fortune to obtain and hold the vicariate and unity of the apostolic see from the clemency of your bountifulness, and that I may continue in the discipleship of your piety by serving the apostolic see, as your faithful and devoted servant, in the same way that I used before to serve the apostolic see under your three predecessors, the two Gregories and Zachary, of venerable memory.* (Bonif. Steph. Opp. i. 188.) He excuses his tardiness, in the end, by saying that he had been engaged in restoring more than thirty churches which the pagans had ruined. *One may here not unreasonably wonder what could make a man of eminent modesty and near death, who had lived also through a very long life in the open profession of contempt for human things, now seek, from timid ambition, as it seems, and eagerness for a legation, to mitigate Stephen's feelings by humble obsequiousness, and a breach in uprightness. These things are ordinarily the marks of a bad ambition, which cannot penetrate into the minds of very holy men. But because even by wise men, as Tacitus*

his history worth notice may soon be told. In 738, under Gregory III., called by contemporaries *the second Gregory, junior*, he went a third time to Rome, where his reception was most gratifying, and he made a stay of some months. He had received a pall, with archiepiscopal rank, six years before, but was placed in no particular see.¹ Subsequently room was found for him in the see of Mentz², but he did not retain that appointment to the end of life. A settled charge had never been familiar to him, and was but little, probably, to his taste. His whole history shows him to have been admirably fitted for a

observes, the desire of glory is put off last, it must indeed be confessed, that, in those holy men something human yet remains; still, however, all their counsels, which sometimes appear human at first sight, look to the glory of the supreme God, all their thoughts tend that way, and they hope nothing else, when they think of acquiring and preserving honours, than that they may do by that means many things in power for the glory of God, which they could not so easily accomplish if they acted only by private authority. (De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp. ii. 62C.) This excuse for Boniface's conduct, no doubt, reveals the reasoning of many eminent ecclesiastics in taking questionable steps. Their own inclination really set them in motion, but any internal suspicion of this was immediately silenced by reasoning that no way so effectual could be taken for advancing true religion.

¹ Mabillon in *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* ii. 38.

² By the deprivation of Gewilieb. This prelate was son of Gerold, the former bishop, who had been slain in the Saxon wars. Gewilieb, then a layman, was chosen to succeed his father, and afterwards he went himself with Carloman against the Saxons. In the course of the campaign he sent a servant to ascertain which of the enemy had killed his father; and the man being found, he was decoyed into a conference with Gewilieb, who lost no time in saying, *Take my steel, and the vengeance due to my dear father.* The words and thrust went of course together, and Carloman's half-savage followers thought Gewilieb to have done no more than show a proper spirit in vindicating his father's blood. But Boniface thought this one of the cases that wanted animadversion, and he made it worse by stating that he had himself seen Gewilieb sporting with hawk and hound: which was also a canonical offence. Gewilieb, being unable to deny these accusations, resigned his see, and Boniface by the united authority of Carloman and Pepin was placed in his room. Othlon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* ii. 48.

partisan and pioneer. Such a man generally becomes impatient under the dull repetition of ordinary duties, and pants for more stirring scenes. Boniface, accordingly, resigned his archbishopric of Mentz to Lullus, and embarked again upon a missionary life in Friesland, the scene of his early labours. He there, in 754, being three years, or thereabouts, over seventy, met with a violent death. Some who do not admire him, have attributed his assassination to the exasperation that he provoked by the anointing of Pepin, by which he lent himself to the dethronement of the Merovingian family, Clovis's venerated progeny, and the usurpation of a faithless, upstart house.¹ Others, on the contrary, represent him as a holy saint, who perished most heroically under an outbreak of pagan bigotry. There is an obscurity in the accounts of his end, which makes it probable that personal considerations really did help in arming his murderers.² That

¹ *Catal. Test. Ver.* 697. Goldastus, in his notes upon Eginhard's *Charlemagne* (p. 168.), objects to this representation as unsupported by known evidence. It may, however, he admits, have been found in some piece from the pen of an opponent, at or near the time. The centuriators (viii. 802.) quote Volaterranus (lib. 4.) for this representation. That writer, an Italian, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, is not likely to have made such a statement if he had not found authority for it in some ancient book.

² Boniface's murder did not occur until he had preached with great success all over Friesland. He had given notice of a great confirmation, and was waiting for the parties expected at it, when *enemies came instead of friends, and new lictors in short, instead of novices who revere the faith* ("pro amicis inimici, et novi denique lictores pro novitiis fidei cultoribus"). (Willibald, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* ii. 20.) Othlon understands these *lictors*, or executioners, to have been the persons actually expected for confirmation. *Then all who were expected, he says, like sons by a father, being unworthy to receive the grace of the Holy Spirit which was to be offered upon them on that very day, the case being changed, burst forth upon the camp of the holy men with a great noise and horrible grasping of arms, enemies instead of friends, new lictors instead of novices who revere the faith.* (Ibid. 73.) Mabillon considers

these were pagans, there can scarcely be a doubt. Many Christians might be displeased with some of his acts, but one may reasonably hope that a man so good upon the whole could never have been singled out by any of their body as a victim for assassination.

But whatever might be Boniface's excellences, they certainly were not more conspicuous than his devotion to the see of Rome. This had been the pole-star of his long missionary course, and it occasionally exhibits him as rather discredibly wanting in manliness of spirit. Such a man must have wished his own countrymen to show the same subservience to papal authority that he had laboured so strenuously to establish among foreigners. Long as he lived upon the continent, it is quite certain that England was very often in his thoughts. A Romanist may believe that he never could have sought any increase to his countryman's dependence on the papacy, because earlier teachers had left nothing to desire in that way. But

this amplification to proceed upon a misunderstanding of Willibald's context. He will have that writer to have meant *pagans* by *enemies*, and confirms that view by citing an ancient anonymous author, who makes the attack upon Boniface to have come from pagans, who said that they would die rather than relinquish their paternal rites. This writer, however, goes on to say, that when Boniface and his friends heard of this determination, they went to the place where they knew their enemies to be assembled. Mabillon is not willing to believe this part of the anonymous account, as it would make the party, from a rash desire of martyrdom, to have thrown away their lives. (*Ibid.* 82.) Now it is remarkable that neither Willibald, nor Othlon, says any thing of pagans, in relating the attack upon Boniface, though both of them subsequently call his assailants pagans. Othlon, therefore, might really have spoken as he does, not because he misunderstood Willibald (whose account, certainly, is none of the clearest), but because he knew from records or tradition that it was not mere pagan bigotry that brought Boniface and his friends to a violent end, but that the dissatisfaction which he had provoked among Christians, as well as pagans, had a share in organising the conspiracy that took away his life.

Protestant enquirers are of no such opinion. They have not been able to find proofs of that submission to Rome among Englishmen, which it was the aim of Boniface's life to root among foreigners. Hence they have thought his attempts at interference in English affairs likely to be guided by a desire to see that done at home which he had succeeded in doing abroad.

One of his most remarkable successes was the obligation already mentioned, which imposed upon all metropolitans the necessity of suing for palls from Rome. These decorations had hitherto been compliments reserved for principal sees. Boniface gained this advantage for the papacy in some synodal assembly, as he himself says to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury.¹ The synods with which this letter is joined by editors of the councils are two. One of these was holden at some place, not named, in Germany, in 742: it sate, according to general opinion, either at Augsburg or Ratisbon. In the following year another synod sate at Lestines, in Hainalt, where Carloman had a residence. This confirmed the proceedings of the former synod, and added some new canons. The records of neither council contain the clause communicated by Boniface to Cuthbert, which has occasioned so much notice. This is, however, immaterial, Boniface's word being quite sufficient for the synodical authority of this clause. The question is, whether this very zealous partisan of Rome meant this clause to guide his countrymen at home? Protestants maintain the affirmative, and

¹ Epist. 63. *Opp.* i. 140.

have thereby provoked Romish displeasure. They have even gone farther. As an English synod actually followed Boniface's letter to Cuthbert, but abstained from adopting the style of papal adulation used abroad, the whole transaction has been represented as evidence that England considered herself ecclesiastically independent of Rome. *The Anglo-Saxon Church* not only takes this view, but also commits the additional offence of representing that Englishmen acted *patriotically* in abstaining from following Boniface's foreign synod. In speaking thus, the work has incurred censure from a gentleman worthy of respectful consideration. But a Protestant will readily see something unpatriotic in submission to Rome. The papacy has not interfered in English affairs merely as an ecclesiastical authority. William the Conqueror set out upon his expedition with a banner consecrated by the pope. Popes hurled firebrands to our shores, in the shape of excommunicating bulls, which pretended to release from their allegiance the subjects of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. A pope marked out Ireland, under the latter sovereign, as a kingdom for his own illegitimate son. Popes admitted the nominees of the exiled Stuarts to episcopal charges among the Irish Romanists, thereby taking upon themselves to acknowledge, during a long series of years, a sovereignty over these islands, which their inhabitants themselves resolutely repudiated. Sufficient reasons, therefore, exist for considering an Englishman's recognition of papal authority over his country as *unpatriotic*. An interference that begins in ecclesiastical matters may easily be

pushed into politics under favourable circumstances. Hence it is desirable to keep out the wedge's point, and to consider the Bishop of Rome's authority over England just the same as the Bishop of Paris, or Toledo, or Moscow's, or that of any other foreign bishop. His friends have wholly failed of securing for his claims any higher ground.

The English synod which followed Boniface's letter to Cuthbert was that of Cloveshoo, assembled, as it seems, in 747. This, Malmesbury tells us, the archbishop got together *at Boniface's admonition, and by King Ethelbald's aid*.¹ The Peterborough Chronicle makes it the fruit of Boniface's letter to Ethelbald, and speaks of Cuthbert merely as president.² In unison with these ancient historians, Mabillon says, *This Bonifacian epistle gave occasion for convoking the Cloveshoo council from nearly all the island*.³ The editors of the councils introduce this of Cloveshoo, by Boniface's letter to Cuthbert.⁴ The two things, therefore, are inseparably connected by all the established authorities. Now, the former of them, namely, Boniface's letter, informs Cuthbert of the advantages gained synodically from some German body by the Roman see. The Cloveshoo canons, though framed, as people generally have thought, upon the transmit-

¹ "Bonifacii admonitu et Ethelbaldi regis ope." (*De Gestt. Pontiff.* 112.) In his *Gesta RR.* (i. 116.) Malmesbury also makes this council to have flowed entirely from Boniface's letters to Ethelbald and Cuthbert.

² "Rex Ethelbaldus, a Bonifacio, Maguntino archiepiscopo ammonitus, concilium, præsidente Cuthberto archiepiscopo, fieri fecit." *Chron. Angl. Petriburg.* 6.

³ "Bonifaciana hæc epistola occasionem præbuit convocando ex tota fere insula Cloveshoviensi concilio." *Annall. Bened.* ii. 136.

⁴ Labb. et Coss. vi. 1565.

ted continental model, give the papacy no such advantage.¹ Nay more, Boniface pushed on, but rather timidly, the cognisance of difficult cases to the Roman see: the corresponding English canon stops at the archbishop.² Now, that Boniface transmitted his

¹ "This council has been selected by Henry as furnishing proofs that the Anglo-Saxon prelates considered themselves totally independent of the bishop of Rome. Mr. Soames (*Hist.* p. 113. note 2.) has undertaken to prove the same doctrine in the face of the most unanswerable evidence to the contrary." (Lingard, i. 125. note.) The note referred to undertakes to prove nothing, but merely mentions opinions as to place and date. Possibly note 3. may be meant; but that contains little more than one authority for the presidency of Ethelbald, king of Mercia, and two others for his presence. No use is made of this *most unanswerable evidence*, except to say, in the text, that Ethelbald acted as president, and in the notes, that Cuthbert most likely took the lead in the proceedings, because they were entirely ecclesiastical. Romish umbrage, one might think, need not be taken at matters like these. A sovereign present at such an assembly could scarcely be treated otherwise than as a sort of chairman.

² Can. 25. "If there be any thing which a bishop cannot reform in his own diocese, let him lay it before the archbishop in synod, and publicly before all, in order to its being reformed." (Johnson's transl.) These words are taken from Boniface's letter to Cuthbert (*Opp.* i. 141.); but this addition to them stands there, *in the same way that the Roman Church bound me by an oath at my ordination, that if I should see priests or people deviate from the law of God, and could not correct them, I should ever faithfully give notice of it to the apostolic see, and the vicar of St. Peter, for correction. For so, if I am not mistaken, all bishops ought to make known to the metropolitan, and he himself to the Roman pontiff, if any thing is impossible about correcting their people.* The *Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (i. 394.) charges Inett with a *gross mistake* here, because he writes as if he considered these words as part of the German canon, instead of Boniface's personal addition to it. But does he so write? The historian himself ventures to go no farther than to say, *it would appear so.* His words, however, need not be so understood. But this is immaterial. Although the words are not in the German canon, any more than in the English copy of it, Boniface gives them as his opinion, qualified by *if I am not mistaken.* For ought that appears, even his German friends thought him mistaken here. Inett hastily takes it for granted that this opinion of his was laid before the Council of Cloveshoo, and "purposely omitted, which shows plainly that the intention of this council was to check the new and ill-grounded error of Boniface, and settle the church on the same foot that the Council of Nice had done before." (i. 177.) But it might be thought unsuitable, and therefore never brought before

information to Cuthbert as a model, few inquirers, probably, will doubt. Is it likely that he meant those parts of his German proceedings which bore so very favourably upon Rome, to pass for mere foreign news with his own countrymen? He was one of the papacy's most zealous and active emissaries. Moreover, when he wrote to Cuthbert, one of the advantages to Rome, that some obsequious council of his had agreed upon, yet remained unrealised. Three palls, as we have already seen, were wanted for Gallic archbishoprics, and applications had been actually made for them. But, for some reason or other, these applications were suspended, very little to Roman satisfaction. Now, even supposing De Marca to have been mistaken in attributing this unpalatable suspense to Gallic suspicion, yet its unquestionable existence was a ground for considering that an important point, once gained for the Roman see, might fail after all.¹ It is not easy to think of these things

the council at all. In this case, the opinion of England appears plainly enough, which is what the passage has been produced to show. Hence Twisden says, "Cuthbert, according to this advice" (of Boniface), "doth appoint the proceedings of the bishop to be to the archbishop, in the same words he had received it from Boniface, but passeth no farther to the pope: an undoubted argument it was not then usual in England." (*Hist. Vindic. of the Church of England*, Lond. 1675, p. 50.) Johnson mentions the transmission of Boniface's canons to Cuthbert, and adds, "which was a handsome way of recommending them to Cuthbert's imitation." (*Collect. of Eccl. Laws, &c.* Lond. 1720.) Now, although the clause under consideration was not one of the canons, it was a declaration of Boniface's opinion introduced as a sort of gloss upon a canon. That active papal agent does not stop, it should be observed, with a statement that he himself had sworn to consult the Roman see under difficulties. That might be a personal matter suggested by peculiar circumstances. He goes on to say, that *if he was not mistaken*, all metropolitans ought to do as he had sworn to do. It is plain that his English friend, Cuthbert, either thought otherwise, or knew the country to think otherwise.

¹ De Marca, *De Concord. Sac. et Imp.* iii. 48, 49.

without supposing that the pope's very stirring agent, who had so far succeeded, was in hopes of confirming what he had done by some example which his influence might bring about in his own country. An able writer's eloquence may throw a varnish over the Council of Cloveshoo, which may keep ordinary readers from having any distinct idea of it. A hasty perusal may thus be surprised into a notion that it was called by the pope's means, and completely answered his ends.¹ It was really called by Boniface's means, and nearly all the world has thought, acted upon a model sent over by him; but in this were concessions to the papacy, which the English synod silently passed by. It is argued, that the council, ordinarily assigned either to Augsburg or Ratisbon, could not serve as a model to that of Cloveshoo, because the former has left eight canons, the latter thirty. But are there not reasons for thinking the

¹ "The loud report of Saxon immorality aroused the patriotism of St. Boniface, and provoked the animadversions of Zachary, the Roman pontiff. The missionary from the heart of Germany, the theatre of his zeal, wrote in terms of the most earnest expostulation to the principal of the Saxon kings and prelates; and the pontiff commanded Archbishop Cuthbert and his suffragans, by authority of the holy see, to oppose the severity of the canons to the corrupt practices of the times. His injunctions were obeyed. Cuthbert convened the bishops of his province at Cloveshoo, and according to the *apostolic mandate* laid before them the letters of Zachary, both in the original Latin, and in an English translation. These documents have perished." (Lingard, i. 124.) Perhaps, if *these documents* had not *perished*, we should have found them some general admonition to greater propriety of conduct with a dash of the haughty tone commonly taken by popes. As proof on either side is unattainable, the eloquent view that has been extracted may excusably tempt into one something plainer, namely, that Boniface, being intent upon gaining the same advantage in England, for his Roman principal, that he had gained in Germany, exerted himself to get a council called, ostensibly for the correction of social evils, and obtained some letter from the Pope as a good way of opening it.

records of the German council incomplete? The editors of the councils appear to have thought so. After they have given the canons of the two connected councils of Augsburg (if it be so) and of Lestines, they give a large extract from Boniface's letter to Cuthbert, although this is repeated soon after, when they come to the Council of Cloveshoo.¹ The passage extracted seems, in fact, necessary both to record a synodical advantage gained by the papacy on the continent, and to account for the calling of the English assembly. The foreign council, it is true, has been lately placed at Mentz, and referred to 745 or 747. For this Serrarius is cited as the authority; and we are told that Eckhart places this council somewhere else in Germany; but as there is no certainty in these matters, one may follow Labbe and Cossart, who place the council at Ratisbon or Augsburg, and refer it to 742. Whether they are right or not, is a point of little or no practical importance. The only real question is, Was one council meant as a pattern for the other? That it was, might be suspected by any unbiassed reader. The canon, already mentioned, which stops references with the metropolitan, instead of carrying them onwards to Rome, is taken word for word from Boniface, only it wants the papal pendant suggested by him. Hence Twisden and Inett discerned a close coherence between his letter and the council. They reasoned upon the Cloveshoo assembly, as involving a papal experiment, which failed. Dr. Lingard treats this

¹ Labb. et Coss. vi. 1544. 1556. The extract reaches to the end of Boniface's account of the resolutions in synod.

reasoning as false. He tells us, that "Inett and his followers assume that the English prelates did not admit the authority claimed by the pope." If this were a mere assumption, or a false one, of course they might be betrayed by it into the giving of a colour to the Cloveshoo proceedings which the records will scarcely warrant. But scholarly men, writing for publication, rarely assume things without means of justifying themselves. It may be seen, accordingly, that Twisden, Inett, and others, who take a Protestant view of the Cloveshoo case, are not without abundant means of confirming their opinions from other cases. It is, therefore, in their power to meet one charge of assumption by another. They may say to a Romish objector, You assume the pope's authority over England, at this particular time; prove its existence, and, for the present purpose, I have done. Upon the same principle may be met Dr. Lingard's management of the clause in favour of Rome, sent over by Boniface, to Cuthbert, but certainly not adopted at Cloveshoo. "There might be many reasons," says the historian, "which made such a profession desirable in Germany. But who can prove that similar reasons existed in England?" It may be asked, by way of reply, *Who can prove* that England was prepared, or even *could* be prepared, at that time, for such a submission to the papacy as Boniface obtained from his German synod? Nay, more: *Who can prove* that Cuthbert, with his confidential friends, did not consult upon this very submission, either at or before the Cloveshoo meeting, and abandon all thoughts of carrying such a re-

solution, because they knew the principle of it to be new in England, and the patronage of it to be hopeless? No one can suppose that this clause in Boniface's letter passed without remark, or that any thing could be more agreeable to the writer than the same expression of English vassalage to Rome that had already been made by his means in Germany. However convincing, therefore, Dr. Lingard's view of the Cloveshoo case may seem to members of the Church of Rome, or to those who are coquetting with her, the firm, enlightened Protestantism of straight-forward, scriptural England is not likely to give up the views which satisfied reflecting minds in the scholarly times of Twisden and Inett. If the inquirers of those days had not lighted upon truth, how came Boniface to qualify his own papal theory with a *ni fallor*? No man of information would write in that way, in adverting to a well known and firmly established principle. Boniface *could* not be *mistaken* as to the relations of his own country with Rome. He does not, however, take any notice of them, but merely lays down, with all the timidity of one who is feeling his way, an abstract principle, which his life had been spent in advocating. Surely, therefore, the very language of this busy papal missionary throws the charge of assumption upon those who represent England as under subjection to Rome, in his days.¹

¹ " *The deliberators*, writes Mr. Soames, *abstained from any submission to the Roman See. In several particulars, his countrymen consented to follow Boniface; but they patriotically disregarded his example, when it would have led them to compromise their dignity as a nation by professing submission to a foreign ecclesiastical authority. But could any profession of obedience be more expressive of submission to the*

Probably Dr. Lingard would himself have been less confident in this case, had he thought more of Boniface's letter, and less of the Cloveshoo proem. Unfortunately, the latter, though mere ceremonial words of course, appears to have taken entire possession of his mind. An extract, accordingly, from it is given in his text, and again in his notes.¹ If, instead of this double trouble, he had reserved one of the two places for Boniface's "round, unvarnished" professions of a *willing subjection* to the Roman see, both himself and his readers, even if Romishly inclined, might have been rather staggered as to the

papal authority than the proem which the English bishops prefixed to their canons? It is said that they disregarded the example of Boniface: but it should be proved that they were called upon to follow it. There might be many reasons which made such a profession desirable in Germany. But who can prove that similar reasons existed in England?" (Lingard, i. 389.) The first of these questions is easily answered. Boniface says, *We decreed these things in our synodal assembly, and we confessed the Catholic faith, and that we will preserve union with and subjection to the Roman church to the very end of our life, that we will be subject to St. Peter and his vicar: assemble a synod every year: that metropolitans seek palls from that see, and in all things we desire to follow canonically the precepts of St. Peter, that we may be numbered among the sheep commended to him.* The Cloveshoo proem says, *First, by the presiding foresaid metropolitan, writings of the pontiff, to be venerated by the whole globe, the apostolic lord, Pope Zachary, in two sheets, were brought forward, and with great diligence, as he himself enjoined by his apostolical authority, were both clearly read, and in our own tongue also more openly interpreted.* More of the same sort follows; but we do not find in it any hint of a determination to be subject to the Roman church and the pope. Nothing corresponds with "subjectionem Romanæ ecclesiæ sine tenus vitæ nostræ velle servare; sancto Petro, et vicario ejus velle subjici." Instead of this tangible matter, so musical in Roman ears, the English synod only talks of *the apostolic lord*, and other such complimentary matters of course, which really amount to nothing at all. The Germans were, therefore, incomparably more expressive of submission to the papal authority than the English. The other question has been already answered. Bonif. *Opp.* i. 140. Spelman, 245.

¹ I. 124. 387.

soundness of his theory. Discerning minds would naturally have looked among the civil things to Rome, said at Cloveshoo, for something to correspond with Boniface's *subjectionem Romanæ ecclesiæ fine tenus vitæ nostræ velle servare; sancto Petro, et vicario ejus velle subjici*. As looking for any thing like this would be found labour lost, the eloquent historian's *splendid bile*¹ may be thought rather thrown away upon Protestant views of the Cloveshoo case. Had Boniface's plain language perished, his character and habits were sufficient presumptions that he never could have overlooked an opportunity to advance the papal interests. A Protestant may, therefore, fairly doubt, in the language of Romish history, whether any other view of Boniface's character may not prove *a fabric built in the air*, which *will not bear examination*. Indeed, not only does this eminent person's history vouch for such a direction as always uppermost in his mind; but also the history of his times is another voucher, and a stronger one. While he was fulfilling most strenuously and actively the duties which he had undertaken as sworn vassal of the papacy, that power was pushing its way into a new, a hazardous, and a discreditable position. It was coming forward as the formal patron of image worship, which has betrayed it into the systematic suppression of the second commandment, and into connivance at innumerable abuses of popular credulity. It was coming forward as a political tool, which might be used, when it suited its own pur-

¹ "Splendida bilis." Hor. Sat. II. iii. 141.

poses, to serve the ends either of a seditious and superstitious populace, or of ambitious and artful rulers. When individuals, or institutions, are taking any such questionable ground, support is eagerly sought from every promising quarter. That papal Rome was taking this ground in the eighth century, is a fact which merciless history insists upon making known.

A principal cause of papal greatness and disgrace may readily be discerned in the injudicious conduct of several early Roman bishops. The position of their church was that of a Protestant minority now in a Romish country. The high, the low, and the learned were generally Pagans. Paganism had exactly the same holds that Romanism has at present. It could plead a most venerable antiquity — an immense mass of favourable erudition; it could boast an elaborate ritual, noble temples, images for them that still fascinate posterity, man's candles vying with heaven's sun¹, incense to perfume the air, cheering

¹ Vigilantius, Jerome's Protestant opponent (if one might anticipate), objected that *quantities of wax tapers were to be seen alight in churches, almost in the Gentile fashion, while the sun yet shone, under pretext of religion.* Jerome defends this practice, upon the grounds of usage and propriety. *Through all the churches of the east, he says, when the gospel is to be read, the lights are lighted, although the sun now shines, not, indeed, to get rid of darkness, but to display a sign of joy.* (Cent. Magdebb. iv. 602. Cabassut, *Notitia Ecclesiastica*, 75.) Thus, in Jerome's time, candles were lighted to express joy, as a sort of illumination, while the gospel was read. This view makes the lighting of them no more than a silly ceremony. But the pagans used them at their sacrifices, as appears from Eusebius (*De Vita Const.* ii. 5. p. 366.), who gives a speech attributed to Licinius, *after he had lighted up wax tapers to the gods, and sacrificed in the usual way.* The Sybilline oracles accordingly say that the Pagans *light candles to God, who gives the light.* Ἡ δὲ λύχνους ἄπρουνσι Θεῷ τῷ φωτα διδόντι. (*Bibl. PP.* viii. 64.) Lights, therefore, in Romish worship, when no light is needed, are not only a senseless waste, and a childish attempt at effect, but also a connecting link with Paganism. Another cause of their appearance,

(holidays, gorgeous processions with gaudy gods borne aloft, miracles, oracles, and accommodating doctrines. A system like this has only to be firmly established in order to fix its roots very deeply in the prejudices and affections of mankind. Still, as Paganism had no solid claim to confidence, the discerning few long rather viewed it as a useful remedy for vulgar humours, than as any anchor for a wise man's hope. Ground was thus prepared for the Christian apologists, who not only exposed old prepossessions, but also made the exposure effective, by proposing a new and admirable system. Thus the more thinking minds became gradually overspread by those convictions which eventually took effect on the mind of Constantine. But his adoption of Christianity could not suddenly destroy popular fondness for the superseded system. Hence the Roman bishops were tempted into various plans for making Pagans, imperceptibly as it were, slide into Christians. Every thing offensively bad in the old system was pruned away; but such things as appeared harmless, or nearly so, were fitted with new names, and altered by various expedients. In this policy, no harm was probably meant. It might seem, reasonably enough, the best way of dealing with an obvious difficulty, and any well-intentioned man, who rather distrusted it, might consider its ob-

undoubtedly, may be the necessary employment of them in the nocturnal and subterranean worship of the primitive Christians. But to retain a shadow of this kind, so many ages after the substance is become a mere matter of history, is not only weak, but also injudicious. The thoughtless mass of mankind wants to be impelled into the realities of religion, and not amused on its threshold by idle shows which nobody can trace to any certain origin, which can improve nobody, which are in use among heathens, and were probably borrowed from them.

jectionable features as likely either to wear away by time, or to admit of a ready cure when the people should become thoroughly christianised.

It is a pity that, instead of temporising, and finding a sort of disguise for their pagan enemy, which he readily wore, and which seemed becoming, the early Christian authorities did not seek instruction from Scripture in grappling with him. They might have suspected, from mere knowledge of the world, that whole Christianity was not likely to be exchanged for half, exactly when it should hereafter be thought high time. They might have reasoned from the operations of nature, that unhealthy energies, unless completely removed, will sap the healthy ones. But Scripture does not leave men, in dealing with paganism, to draw instruction from analogies. It utterly proscribes the pagan system, and exhibits any compromise with it as unlawful. That such a compromise was highly impolitic, the Christian world was not slow in rendering mournfully conspicuous. Paganism, it was found, had been reformed, not exterminated. In many things that passed for harmless because the Bible was not half consulted, names were changed, while realities remained. As Claudius of Turin said, *If you inscribe or paint upon a wall images of Peter and Paul, Jove and Saturn, or Mercury, neither these are gods, nor those apostles; nor these, nor those, are men; but by this a name is changed, while the error itself both then and now keeps constantly the same.*¹

¹ "Si scribas in pariete, vel pingas imagines Petri et Pauli, Jovis et Saturni, sive Mercurii, nec isti sunt dii, nec illi apostoli: nec isti nec illi homines, ac per hoc nomen mutatur, error tamen et tunc et nunc idem ipse permanet semper." *Bibl. PP.* iv. 547.

Hence this prelate will not allow that Christian worshippers of images had really abandoned Pagan habits. *They have not left idols, but changed names.*¹ In the same enlightened spirit, Agobard of Lyons writes, *Let no one deceive himself, no one seduce himself, no one circumvent himself: whoever adores any picture, or cast, or wrought statue, he does not pay worship to God, he does not honour angels or holy men, but he venerates images. The versatile and cunning enemy of the human race is, in fact, now intent upon this, that, under pretext of honouring the saints, he may bring in idols*

¹ "Non idola reliquerunt, sed nomina mutaverunt." (*Ibid.*) The passages in this and the former note are so apt and pertinent that they are extracted both by Jonas of Orleans, and by Dungal, in their answers to Claudius of Turin. The former makes a candid, but a very lame, reply. *Those, he says, who, with excessive and indiscreet love, with a view to honour the saints, supplicate their images, I do not know whether they may not be hastily called idolaters. They seem, however, to be rather fit for recalling from this superstition by putting them under the restraint of reason, than for being set down as idolaters, inasmuch as they truly believe and confess the faith of the holy Trinity.* (*Bibl. PP.* iv. 547.) Dungal thus flies off from this unmanageable question. *This is the way in which the heretics Eunomius and Vigilantius, and their followers, are in the habit of blaspheming Catholics, calling them idolaters and worshippers of dead men, as the pagans were, because they venerate the relics of the martyrs who suffered for Christ. To whom we answer, on the other side, that we neither adore as God the images of saints painted on walls, nor their bodies laid up in sepulchres.* (*Ibid.* pars ii. p. 158.) Jonas, therefore, admits the force of the objection, but pleads against a rigid application of it, because the parties aimed at believed in the essentials of Christianity. Dungal calls names, and makes the opponents of image-worship as bad as the opponents of relic-worship, who put Jerome into such a violent passion. His excuse, however, merely amounts to this, that neither party adored these earthly substances as God. How could he know what views were taken by the stupidest and most ignorant of the populace? Besides, his excuse is exactly that of the more enlightened pagans. They have always disclaimed polytheism in the strictest sense of the word, and professed a belief in one great Supreme. With him the gods, as they are called, (who are, in fact, beings once mortal, but now deified,) are meant to act as mediators. Pagans, therefore, are as much entitled as Romanists to call their belief and practice nothing more than the invocation of saints. *A name is changed, a reality remains.*

again, be adored again by means of a change in effigies; *that he may turn us away from spiritual things, but sink us down to carnal things, and make us worthy every way to hear from the apostle, O foolish people, who hath bewitched you? and are ye so foolish? having begun in the spirit, are ye now made perfect in the flesh? As the same apostle says, Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light.*¹

Though both Claudius and Agobard lived in the

¹ "Nemo se fallat, nemo se seducat, nemo se circumveniat: quicumque aliquam picturam, vel fusilem sive ductilem adorat statuam, non exhibet cultum Deo, non honorat angelos, vel homines sanctos, sed simulachra veneratur. Agit hoc nimirum versutus et callidus humani generis inimicus, ut sub prætextu honoris sanctorum rursus idola introducat, rursus per diversas effigies adoretur (Epipha. Hæres. 79.), ut avertat nos a spiritualibus, et carnalia vero demergat, ac per omnia simus digni ab apostolo audire, *O insensati, qui vos fascinavit? et Sic stulti estis, ut cum Spiritu cœperitis, nunc carne consummamini?* (Gal. iii. 1. 3.) *Ipse enim Satanas*, sicut dicit idem apostolus, *transfigurat se in angelum lucis.*" 2 Cor. xi. 14. (S. Agobard. Episc. Eccl. Lugdun. Opp. Par. 1605, p. 252.) Agobard's works had a narrow escape. Papire Masson found them at a bookbinder's, whither they had come as waste parchment for using in the trade. They were on the very point of being cut up, when Masson's opportune arrival saved them. He published them, and it was afterwards thought advisable to publish them in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; but the treatise *De Picturis Imaginibus*, from which the extract above is made, has given sore embarrassment to Romanists. It is no wonder that such an author had lain buried in libraries, and when some accident disinterred him, had been hurried off to the bookbinders, as fit only to find parchment for use in their trade. His appearance, and that of his contemporary, Claudius of Turin, are quite sufficient to satisfy the requisitions of the text (*Matt.* xxviii. 20.), unless people will insist upon understanding by the term, church, some ecclesiastical corporation with which they are connected themselves. If our Lord be understood as promising to be with the body of believers *away, even unto the end of the world*, Agobard of Lyons, and Claudius of Turin, early in the ninth century, are conspicuous fulfilments of that promise. More obscure fulfilments never were wanting afterwards. They had a regular citadel in the Alps. The papal corporation followed, or led, or both, a superstitious, half-reclaimed populace into pagan principles and practices, but two distinguished prelates first, and eventually an unyielding tribe of Christian mountaineers, bore witness to the duty of casting heathenism completely off. They knew better than to give up names, and keep realities.

beginning of the ninth century, they took up no new ground in objecting to images as a pagan device. Vigilantius had argued against relics in the same way four hundred years before.¹ The sequel proved him to have been perfectly right. Christians began their unhappy backward course towards gentile superstitions, by imbibing a notion that prayers were made additionally efficacious if offered near the remains of martyrs. The next step was to honour such remains by erecting a church to contain them: the third, was to paint a picture on the wall representing the party commemorated: the fourth, was to pray by that picture, and to treat it with other outward marks of reverence. Thus Christians were prepared for admitting the gentile mass that crowded among them, after Constantine's conversion, on terms that were easily embraced. But in this manner not only was there a serious compromise of scriptural truth, which gave great concern to discerning minds within the church; a great mass of odium was also incurred by the Christian body among its enemies. The Jews at once branded it with idolatry; and in later times Mahometanism poured contempt upon it as guilty of that sin. The Talmud expressly called *Christian churches houses of idolatry*.² The state of Mahometan feeling is discovered by a tale, which makes two Hebrew soothsayers to have set Yezid, sultan of Arabia, upon

¹ Bellarmine says, that Eunomius was the first who argued against the worship of relics; but he does not specify any ground taken up by him. (*Controv.* ii. 302.)

² "In suo Thalmud, quod prodiit anno Christi 476, ord. 2. tract. 1. dist. 2. diserte docent Christianorum Ecclesias esse domos idololatriæ, quod propter imagines dictum esse patet." (*Ibid.* 310.)

the turning out from Christian churches of our Lord's figure and his mother's, by promising him, on that condition, a lengthened reign. He did, accordingly, eject these figures from all the churches in his dominions; but his anticipations of longevity were disappointed. Within a year he died, which Zonaras represents as a divine judgment upon him for clearing churches of images.¹ The historian goes on to say, that his son and successor would have punished his father's Hebrew advisers as impostors, had they not escaped into Isauria. They there met with Leo, eventually the emperor, but then a peasant youth, and promised him the Roman throne, swearing him to gratify them, if he should see their prediction realised, by removing every where the images of Christ and the Virgin.² This relation, it is evident, has been made up to render a powerful and active opponent additionally odious. But its currency in the east plainly reveals the disgust and contempt with which Mahometans were known to look upon the doings in Christian churches. Nor is it among the least painful circumstances attendant upon these wretched abuses, that oriental infidelity is revolted and riveted by them. Moses and the old patriarchs are venerated all over the western regions of Asia. Christians profess to share heartily in this veneration; but in practice their Mahometan neighbours must necessarily view them as apostates from the Mosaical and patriarchal faith.

¹ Ἡ θεία δίκη τοῦτον μετῆλθεν οὐκ εἰς μακράν· οὕτω γὰρ παρῆλθεν ἐνιαυτός, καὶ ὁ δειλαιὸς τὴν ζωὴν ἐζημίωτο. *Annal.* iii. Basil, 1557, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*

It seems to have been the loudness of Mahometan contempt and indignation, joined, probably, with a sense of the evils brought upon Christians themselves by image-worship, that made Leo the Isaurian attack it in 726. Having risen from the lower walks of life to empire, Leo necessarily possessed a masculine decision of character, which would not let him hesitate when he had once determined upon a measure of importance. He did not, however, act without episcopal concurrence¹; nor did he proceed rashly against images. His first measure was nothing more than an order to place them higher in churches. He thus would have

¹ An account of the origin of iconoclasm, formally read before the second Council of Nice, at its fifth action, relates the story of Yezid's war upon images at the Jewish fortune-teller's instigation, and then goes on, *the pseudo-bishop of Nacolia having heard these things, and those about him, imitated the wicked Jews and impious Arabians, and insulted the churches of God.* (Labbe. et Coss. vii. 388.) A far more authentic and credible account had been previously laid before the council, at its fourth action, in a letter from Germanus, who had been deposed from the see of Constantinople for his opposition to Leo's reform. This treats the bishop of Nacolia with becoming respect, and informs us that he rested his opposition to images upon the prohibition of them in the second commandment. (*Ibid.* 290.) This is unassailable ground; and even if it had been taken merely from a personal knowledge of the scandal brought upon image-worshipping Christians among Mahometans, it would be nothing to the bishop's disadvantage. A lewd or drunken man is not undeserving of a rebuke, because he never heard one until an open enemy came into collision with him. The bishop of Nacolia passes for an adviser of Leo in the attack upon images, and he probably was so. At all events, the emperor had his countenance, and therefore did not act as a mere ignorant, rash soldier, driven headlong by Jew fortune-tellers and fanatical Arabs. At least, one bishop thought as he did, and founded his opinion upon a Scripture from which image-worship recoils down to the present hour. This prelate's conduct is, therefore, a verification of our Lord's promise to be ever with his church. Amidst a hierarchy emulously pandering to vulgar superstition, and barbing the arrows of Jewish and Mahometan contempt, we know that Heaven provided itself with a prelate who pleaded unanswerable Scripture for unpaganising a besotted populace, and wresting their most plausible objection from the open enemies of Christianity.

put them beyond the reach of those who were in the habit of treating them with various indications of superstitious reverence. But such persons formed a numerous class, and Leo found himself to have compromised the public tranquillity. In the hope of co-operation from the powerful bishop of Rome, Leo gave official information of his proceedings to Gregory II., and required him to take the same steps under pain of forfeiting his favour. This was a golden opportunity for checking and undermining the evils that had flowed from the compromise with Paganism, into which former popes had been tempted by the difficulties of conciliating a heathen populace. The ordinary crowd no longer wanted alluring into the Christian fold. It universally professed Christianity, and no doubt, could boast, at intervals, over its whole extent, of spirits really Christian. The unextirpated Paganism, however, constantly sent up new shoots, and, as is the case with all morbid influences, these shoots became more vigorous every day. The infamy of them grew more rapidly still. When the Roman bishops first adopted gentile usages, there were only despised Jews to revile, pity, and condemn. Since that time, a vigorous, military fanaticism had sprouted up in the east, which fiercely re-echoed Jewish denunciations of idolatry, and could plausibly plead the necessity of its own appearance from the Christian scriptures, to avenge God's quarrel with every thing idolatrous. Instead of learning wisdom from this awakening voice of stern reproof, the bulk of Christians heard it with boundless indignation, and reasoned as if it must be a disgrace to take any notice of objections made by a

Mahometan. We find, accordingly, among the reasons contemptuously assigned by superstitious writers, for Leo's attack upon image-worship, the representation of Bezor, a renegade, who had apostatised from the Bible to the Koran. The emperor learnt from him, we are told, that nothing in the Christian system so much offended Mahometans as image-worship. And why should a competent witness be disregarded, merely because he has injured his own character? The party, it is evident, in this instance, was not without means of making out a plausible case in his own favour. He might represent himself as disquieted in conscience by the unscriptural usage of paying religious honours to visible objects, which prevailed among all the Christians around, and hence allured into Mahometanism by its absolute rejection of practices utterly irreconcilable with God's recorded word. But whatever might be this man's representations, or whatever may be the truth as to any at all made by him to the emperor, this account, with others of the same kind, plainly prove that Mahometan reproofs of Christian image-worship had become loud enough to sound in the ears of every well-informed man. Nor will candid minds generally deny the wisdom of Leo's determination to wipe away the scandal. Gregory, however, contemptuously refused to second his imperial master. Never was a step taken more for the profit, or less for the credit, of the Roman see. The lower people were delighted by this resolution of their bishop to uphold superstition, and seditious movements laid immediately the foundations of temporal power for an authority merely ecclesiastical. These

movements drew bitterness and intensity from men's hatred of a tax-gatherer. The emperor's exarch was making arrangements for collecting a new impost; but Gregory did not approve of it. His opinion, of course, gave general satisfaction, and almost every body could see very good reason for declining a payment which the bishop of Rome pronounced improper. Thus the papal see found new attractions for the crowd, in standing up both for superstition and the pocket. Upon the mode in which Gregory took this very popular position, representations vary. Some ancient partizans of image-worship make him to have anathematised Leo synodically, and to have inhibited payments to his treasury, taking care to guard such liberties by forming an alliance with the Franks.¹

¹ *Therefore Gregory, who then governed the Church of old Rome, declining communion with him who presided over new Rome, and those of his mind, laid them under a synodical anathema, together with the king, and forbade the tribute paid from thence to the royalty until then, having made a treaty with the Franks.* (Zonaras, iii. 85.) It appears, from De Marca, that Theophanes and Cedrenus give a similar testimony. (*De Concord.* ii. 82.) These writers, that learned prelate says, have made a confusion by putting things together which really happened at different times, and under the two Gregories. Platina thus writes, *But Paul (the exarch) being vehemently hostile to the pontiff because he was hindered by him from exacting some new taxes, secretly and openly by the emperor's command sought the most holy man's death; but the Romans and Lombards took up arms, and kept him from accomplishing it. Then the emperor Leo III. being unable to attack the pontiff openly, puts forth an edict, that all who were under the Roman empire should scrape off and take away from the temples the statues and images of all the holy saints, martyrs, and angels, for the sake, as he said himself, of getting rid of idolatry.* (*De Vita Pontiff.* Colon. 1529, p. 86.) Platina does not add that Gregory excommunicated the emperor, but only that he admonished all catholics against falling into so great an error as opposing image-worship, from fear of the prince. He goes on to say that Leo took away the see of Constantinople from the image-worshipping Germanus, and conferred it upon the *ill-thinking* Anastasius, whom Gregory synodically deprived, *unless he should return to the catholic faith.* This is evidently the party meant by Zonaras,

These views have been adopted by the more conspicuous papal advocates.¹ By them Gregory's conduct has been drawn into a precedent for the political excommunications, and other offensive civil acts of Roman bishops in later times. The inference intended is, that such boldness never would have been shown, had not authority for it notoriously descended by tradition from the apostolic age to that of Gregory. It is, however, a violent supposition, that very strong measures in the eighth century, hitherto unheard of, must have the best foundation in the first, merely because they were taken in the eighth by a Roman bishop. But, in truth, Gregory seems to have proceeded with little or none of that presumptuous haste which has been attributed to him by both friends and enemies of the Roman see. He called a council in 726, immediately on the receipt of Leo's communication upon images, and that body appears to have contented itself with very smooth language, breathing

when he talks of *him who presided over new Rome*. Platina's account resolves itself, therefore, into this — that Gregory came forward as an agitator against a tax, which led to an unsuccessful scheme for assassinating him, and that Leo out of spite issued a proclamation against images. As for the project of assassination, such schemes are not usually entertained by manly spirits, and Leo's could scarcely be any other. Bower makes it appear that Anastasius, who lived in the ninth century, is the first author who fastens this imputation upon him. (*Hist. of the Popes*, iii. 246.) The charge probably arose from some arrangement made for sending Gregory a prisoner to Constantinople. A powerful agitator against taxation might be fairly called upon to answer for his conduct before the sovereign, and Leo's authority over Rome was so very precarious that it might not have been easy to apprehend such a person without some degree of art and stratagem. That Leo really had a design upon his liberty, appears from Gregory's first letter to him.

¹ *The fifth example is that of Gregory II., who prohibited taxes to be paid to Leo the image-fighting emperor, by the Italians, and consequently mulcted him of a part of his empire.* Bellarmin. *Controv.* i. 352.

apology instead of defiance. It could stoop, as others that might know better could, to defend images in open churches which every body was to see, from God's command for sculptured cherubim, in the sanctuary, which none but priests could see; but it kept clear of offensive demonstrations.¹ There is reason to believe, that Gregory was equally alive to the impolicy of wholly disregarding appearances, when he came forward as a mere politician. In the midst of a letter to Leo, disgraced by shameful arrogance, insolence, and folly, he says, *It is not the pontiff's business to overlook the palace, or the emperors to overlook the church.*² It is plain, therefore, that Gregory was not prepared for all the pretensions that later times have sent forth from Rome. He might have been urged on, and probably was, by a foresight of worldly advantages; but he did not seek them as if utterly careless of compromising his character. He even showed himself mindful of his allegiance to the emperor.

¹ Labb. et Coss. vi. 1460.

² "Ὡςπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐγκύψαι εἰς τὸ παλάτιον, καὶ προβαλέσθαι ἀξίας βασιλικὰς οὕτως οὐτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγκύψαι εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ψήφους ποιήσασθαι εἰς τὸν κτῆρον. (*Ibid.* vii. 25.) This language Launoy represents as consonant with the doctrine of the Fathers, and the tradition of the apostolic see. (*Epist.* 646.) It certainly sounds tolerably well by itself, but if the whole letter be read, (it is the second to Leo,) Gregory will stand forth as a person who might have some caution, but certainly had very little good manners. He begins by telling the emperor that he does *not savour the things that are of Christ*, because he would not follow the *holy and famous miracle-workers*. Thus this prelate, who set up for the head of the Christian church, founds his case upon stories which opponents derided, and which nobody could prove. Worthy of this foundation is the superstructure. Gregory says, with a modesty quite becoming of image-worship, *We have the mind of Christ* ('Ημεῖς νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν). Leo's mind was a *soldier's, clumsy and gross*, quite unequal to the management of doctrinal questions. One of his objections, however, was too striking for dismissal under cover of such vulgarity. He

When Leo's unpopularity was at its height, some of his Italian subjects would have elected another sovereign, had not Gregory counselled greater wisdom.¹ Still the pope's political conduct is not above suspicion. So slight was Leo's tenure of the ancient capital, that his power there was very nearly bounded by its walls. Among his home-thrusts, Gregory says to him, *I have no occasion to strive with you: only to remove two or three miles into the country. Then go and run after the winds.*² Beyond its immediate neighbourhood Rome was hemmed in by the Lombards. Its dukedom, or governorship, was a dependency upon the exarchate of Ravenna³; but the exarch had often found it no easy matter to defend himself. The pope, accordingly, taunts Leo with his inability to protect Rome.⁴ He must have been equally unable to hold it, if a vigorous opposition

wanted to know, if images were so ancient in the church, how nothing came to be said about them in the six general councils? The pope sapiently answers, *Why, nothing was said in these about eating and drinking bread and water: because man's life had been sustained by those things from the first.* Of course, by parity of reasoning, images had been used in the church from the first. The advocate and his pleading were worthy of his brief.

¹ *At this time the Emperor Leo burnt the images of the saints deposited at Constantinople. He likewise commanded the Roman pontiff to do the like, if he would have the imperial favour, but the pontiff despised to do this. The whole army also at Ravenna and Venice resisted such orders with one mind; and, unless the pontiff had hindered them, would have set about making an emperor over themselves.* Paul Warnefrid, *De Gestis Langobardorum*, Lugd. Bat. 1618, p. 250.

² Οὐκ ἔχομεν ἀνάγκην μετὰ σοῦ παλαίειν, εἰκοσιτέσσαρα στάδια ὑποχωρήσειδ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν χώραν Καμπανίας καὶ ὕπαγε διώξον τοὺς ἀνέμους. Labb. et Coss. vii. 19.

³ The first exarch of Ravenna was Longinus, appointed in 569 by the Emperor Justin II. He placed in the principal cities under his authority, governors or commanding officers, who were known as dukes (*duces*). Rome was one of the cities so provided. De Marca, ii. 76.

⁴ Σοῦ μὴ δυναμένου ἡμᾶς ἐκδικῆσαι. Labb. et Coss. vii. 19.

sprang up to his authority. When such an opposition really was excited by his edict against images, the principal cities would not obey the exarch's officers, but chose new dukes for themselves.¹ This was done at Rome as elsewhere, and Gregory's influence there made it certain that no duke would be appointed who was much else than a creature of his own.² Thus his patronage of image-worship was the first step towards the political power of popes.

Gregory II. was succeeded in 731 by another pope of the same name, and equally resolute for images. He went even a step farther than his predecessor in 732. A council, then holden under him, at Rome, attended by ninety-three bishops, and many other persons both lay and clerical, unanimously excommunicated every one who should henceforth be a *puller-down, destroyer, profaner, or blasphemer* of images. This bold measure does not by any means take what is called high ground. The veneration of images is merely placed upon *ancient custom, and the faithful use of the apostolical church*.³ Acute and scholarly men would never have used such vague assertions as these, if they had known where to find any thing

¹ Anastasius, *De Vitis Pontiff*. Par. 1649, p. 69.

² *If it be sought what part the Roman pontiff had in the duke's creation, it may be answered not obscurely from Anastasius, that he was elected by the suffrages of the chief people, as in the other cities. But such was the supreme pontiff's authority, that he could do in that business what he liked.* De Marca, ii. 81.

³ "Si quis deinceps antiquæ consuetudinis, et apostolicæ ecclesiæ tenentes fidelem usum contemnens, adversus eandem venerationem sacrarum imaginum, videlicet, Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et genetricis ejus semper virginis immaculatæ atque gloriosæ Mariæ, beatorum apostolorum, et omnium sanctorum depositor, atque destructor, et profanator, vel blasphemus extiterit, sit extorris a corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel totius ecclesiæ unitate atque compage." Labb. et Coss. vi. 1464.

precise on their side. It was, however, necessary to make some synodical declaration, because the Emperor Leo had assembled a council at Constantinople two years before, which formally condemned image-worship.¹ His Roman opponents, in formally maintaining it, undoubtedly committed a new political offence against his throne. But it is observable, that he is not named in their decree; nor do they, like some of the later popes, represent his conduct as any release from allegiance to him. The minds of men were, probably, not prepared for such political sallies upon occasions thought only to concern religion. The papal see, too, did not know how soon Lombard neighbours might fill Rome with anxiety for help from Constantinople. They had no wish to change a feeble master on the confines of Asia, for a vigorous one at their own doors. This, however, soon seemed likely to prove the upshot of their policy. Luitprand, the energetic Lombard king, overran the exarchate of Ravenna, and acted as if he had no thought of forgetting that Rome was a dependence of it. Gregory became seriously alarmed, and earnestly sought relief from Charles Martel, the justly-famed Frankish mayor of the palace. *Do not, he writes to him, despise my prayer, nor shut your ears to my request: so may not the prince of the apostles shut against you the celestial realms.*²

¹ The synodical book says that Leo assembled this council because he was *polluted by the error of Constantine, bishop of Nacolia*, and of the renegade Bezor. Constantine's name is, therefore, a sufficient refutation of the charge brought against the emperor by Romanists, that he acted solely from a regard to laymen and enemies. Labb. et Coss. 1462.

² "Non despicias deprecationem meam, neque claudas aures a postulatione mea: sic non tibi princeps apostolorum claudat cœlestia regna." *Ibid.* 1473.

But Charles discovered no fears of being shut out from them. He had friendly relations with Lombardy, and had no wish to break them off. Rome therefore, after all, might have been treated as nothing else than a dependency upon the exarchate of Ravenna, and a master have been found for this, who would make the old imperial court bitterly regretted. Being thus foiled in approaching Charles under the mask of St. Peter, Gregory next offered to make him patrician (Bossuet says, consul) of Rome.¹ This was an offer that addressed itself to the ambitious Frank's vigorous common sense. He lost no time in closing with it, and Rome became a prize beyond Luitprand's reach. Thus mere worldly politics gained another step for the papal see.

The popes did not, however, at once profess to cast off allegiance to the imperial throne. On the contrary, they sought aid from Constantinople when subsequently threatened by the Lombards.² But protection from that quarter was hopeless, and Rome would have become an appendage to the Lombard kingdom, under the very able and energetic rule of Astolph, had not Pepin, the last Frankish mayor of the palace, interposed. That eminent personage,

¹ "Certior res est de Gregorio III. qui, quum Longobardorum rex Romam obsidione cingeret, legationem de novo, anno 740, ad Carolum Martellum direxit, eo consilio ut tanquam patricius Romam defenderet, quod liquido constat ex verbis continuatoris Fredegarii." Boehmer in De Marca, i. 176. † Bossuet, *Défense du Clergé*, i. 347.

² When Astolph threatened Rome, the Romans had not yet deserted the emperor's allegiance. Therefore, though he was a heretic, De Marca says, that is, he insisted upon keeping churches clear of images, the pope sent an urgent message to him for effective assistance. It was not until Greece was evidently unable to give help, that Stephen sought it from France. De Marca, ii. 83.

whose frame and spirit were so much out of proportion with each other, was eager to set aside his nominal master, and wear the crown himself. For his appearance in this new character he sought countenance from the Roman see, and as he could serve it most importantly, his wish was gratified. Upon the precise nature of his application, writers differ. Bellarmine makes him to have applied for authority from Zachary, now Roman bishop, to depose Childeric, the last Merovingian king.¹ But he really applied, or pretended to apply, for advice, as to whether this might not properly be done. He had already gained over the principal Franks to his meditated usurpation. Even these, however, would naturally be glad of some excuse for abandoning the descendant of their ancient kings, and there might be found considerable difficulty in reconciling the nation generally to such a step. To smooth matters, therefore, Pepin sent Burchard, bishop of Wurtzburg, and Folrad, one of his chaplains, to ask the pope, whether the Franks would not do better to own as their king one who fulfilled all the duties of royalty, than one who was merely paraded as the sovereign on a few state occasions, but never did any thing for the country? Zachary's answer was, that it was better to call that individual king, who discharged all

¹ *Zachary, being entreated by the chiefs of the Franks, deposed Childeric, and ordered Pipin, Charlemagne's father, to be created king in his place. (Controv. i. 352.)* Launoy very well observes that Bellarmine's case would wear a different aspect, if the real nature of the Frankish application had been given. The Pope was not asked for a sentence of deposition, but only for an opinion as to the propriety of calling a man king who did all the work of one, instead of a puppet who did nothing at all.

the royal duties¹: and on the strength of this judgment Pepin found it easy to obtain legislative sanction for his formal assumption of the throne. Boniface, accordingly, anointed him as king; and Childeric, his former master, being tonsured, was thrust into the monastery of Sithieu, or St. Bertin's, at St. Omer's, to wear away life as a monk. On Zachary's death, Stephen was elected bishop of Rome, and he soon saw himself likely to fall under the Lombard power. He undertook, therefore, a journey into France, where he established such relations with Pepin as made him wrest from Astolph the exarchate of Ravenna, and render it, with the marquisate of Ancona, or the Pentapolis, an endowment of the Roman see.² As the price for all this liberality, Stephen, in 754, anointed Pepin anew, and with him two of his sons³; thus giving the sanction of his name and stâtion to the permanent assumption of royal honours by the Carolingian race. The heads of that family continued to be acknowledged as patricians of Rome, until an

¹ Launoy produces twelve ancient authorities, from whom it appears, on the whole, that Pepin's application and Zachary's answer really were these. Some of the ancients, however, encourage the view taken by Bellarmine. But evidently that learned cardinal's representation is not only suspicious from the statements of some among the ancient authorities, but also from the probabilities of the case. *Epist.* 645.

² *King Pipin delivered Ravenna, and all the Pentapolis to the holy apostles Peter and Paul.* Ado Viennensis, *Bibl. PP.* vii. 373.

³ *The pontiff Stephen, Pipin being anointed as king, anointed also in the same way his two sons Charles and Carloman.* (*Ibid.*) This recognition of Pepin's family, as entitled to the Frankish throne, was a matter of importance, for Childeric, the last Merovingian king, was not without issue, as many have thought. He had a son, named Theoderic, who was ordained, and placed in a monastery; whether Sithieu or Fontanelles is uncertain. Pepin's two sons were not only anointed with their father, but also named by Zachary patricians of Rome. Mabillon, *De Re Diplom.* Supplem. 39.

election, seemingly collusive, raised Charlemain to the imperial dignity.¹ This closed a series of transac-

¹ Charlemain was saluted and crowned emperor at St. Peter's on Christmas day, 800. He had gone to Rome as an arbitrator in the cause of Leo III., who was accused by a strong party in that city of very heavy offences, and had undergone very barbarous usage. Report made him to have been deprived of his tongue and eyes by a factious rabble that assaulted him, and to have recovered them miraculously. But whatever might be the amount of injury received by him, he recovered of it some how or other, sufficiently to wait upon Charles at Paderborn. Lorenz considers the latter's elevation to the imperial dignity to have been arranged between him and Leo at that place. But Charlemain himself professed to have been taken quite by surprise, when the pope and the Romans saluted him as emperor at St. Peter's. Eginhard declares him to have been so *averse* from the imperial dignity, that *he affirmed that he would not have gone into the church on that day, although it was a principal festival, if he had known the pontiff's design.* Lorenz, however, argues that he must have known it long before, from the present of an unusually fine Bible sent to him much about the time of his coronation by Alcuin, as a gift *worthy of the splendour of his imperial power.* Such a present could not be prepared in a short time, and hence it is no unreasonable supposition that Alcuin was apprised of Charles's intended elevation, and took measures accordingly for making him a suitable present. As for Charlemain's talk of surprise, there are obvious reasons for it. Eginhard mentions his new position as *invidious*, and as occasioning *indignation* at Constantinople. He might also be suspicious of its effect upon his own Frankish subjects. His father had started in life as nothing more than mayor of the palace, and now the son professed himself occupant of the throne of the Cæsars. A man might be excused for vaulting so completely and rapidly above the heads of every body else, if it were an honour that he never sought, and that came unexpectedly upon him by some dispensation of Providence. Therefore Charles might feel it most politic to talk of his imperial dignity as a thing that astonished him, and which he would rather have declined. His interference in the pope's affairs before he had become emperor, was in quality of patrician of Rome. He came into St. Peter's on the day of his elevation to the empire robed as patrician. To that dignity, it may be remembered, he had been named by Pope Stephen, together with his brother Carloman, when the two were crowned together with their father Pepin. But it appears that Charles did not ordinarily style himself patrician of Rome until after he had conquered Lombardy, and made himself its king in 774. From that time he called himself king of the Franks and Lombards, and patrician of the Romans. After he became emperor he dropped the title of patrician. Mabillon considers him to have abstained from calling himself patrician before he became king of Lombardy, because the office then was of a nature chiefly honorary, more binding him to

actions which accounts completely for the papal sovereignty, and places it upon grounds merely secular. A powerful see delights the crowd by taking its part against an impotent sovereign who would have imposed a new tax, and put down superstition. Afterwards it uses the influence, thus engrafted upon long possession, to make an aspiring family palatable as kings instead of subjects. All these things form one of those connected and intelligible chains of selfish policy which find materials for history. Theology has no farther concern with them than as the solution of a problem which meets the eye of all religious enquirers. Popes and early Carlovingian kings, to use a familiar phrase, played into each other's hands. Each party found immediately his account in the collusion, and one of the parties thereby secured a base for operations which long bore importantly upon politics, and still bear importantly upon religion.

protect the Roman see, than giving him any authority over Rome ; but when Charles really became an Italian prince, he considered the prefecture of Rome and its neighbourhood as an appendage to the patrician dignity. Eginhart, *De Vita Car. Mag.* 128. Lorenz, *Life of Alcuin*, 201. 279. Mabillon, *De Re Diplom.* Supplem. 39, 40. Alcuin, *Opp.* i. 153.

CHAPTER VIII.

IMAGE-WORSHIP.

State of the image-question. — The second council of Nice. — Rejected in transalpine countries. — Among them, in England. — Suppression of the second commandment. — Constantine's alleged donation. — The forged decretals. — Roman bishops deceived by fictitious documents. — Evils brought upon the Latin system by imposition.

ESSENTIALLY political as were papal relations with Charles Martel and his aspiring family, it would be a great mistake to view them apart from religion, or, more properly, from superstition. The Roman bishops made their first advances towards temporal dominion on the shoulders of a populace besotted by image-worship. Undoubtedly their disapprobation of an obnoxious tax added to their popularity, but its great strength lay in their firm determination to keep churches full of such objects as the Bible forbids, and men delight in. Divine authority would not set in so decidedly one way, and human infirmity the other, unless upon some point which requires to be well understood. The image question calls, therefore, for something more than a passing notice. It is one of which discerning Romanists are very shy, and which ever plunges them in sore embarrassment. If the Latin body were wholly made up of such persons, little notice need be taken of images. But something of the same sort may be said of the pagan body.

Superior pagans have always disclaimed the grossness of vulgar superstition. The question is, whether their system does not encourage it? And this question is just as applicable to Romanists as to pagans. Intelligent members of the Latin communion may look upon the wretched things that glitter in their churches with a sigh or a smile. But are the weak and fanatical portions of their own class thus affected by these degrading spectacles? Can the gross and ignorant mass of mankind be kept from either scoffing at them, or being poisoned by them? It is folly, or worse, to beset men systematically with temptations, and bid them yield to none. Scripture takes no such course in any thing, and especially not in the case of images. It absolutely proscribes all religious honours to such objects. The Romans, in the eighth century, would not hear such doctrine, and their bishop abetted them in rejecting it. He thus made way for his successors towards a temporal principedom; but in rendering them this service, if it were any, he provided effectual means for stultifying and enslaving mankind. He meant, probably, no such results. But in due time both of them followed. One abuse decoyed people into another, and a greater: until, at length, both papal grandeur and anti-scriptural stupidity reached their heights. The former underwent a decided fall, about four centuries ago, because it interfered with lay grandeur. The latter held a triumphant course for another hundred years, when its power was extensively pared away by the Reformation. Since that period it has only maintained its ground in certain countries; and in them,

over well-bred weakness and plebeian helplessness. These, however, still afford superstition a very wide field. Hence intelligent minds that would fain see its place occupied by scriptural truth, are much concerned in an accurate knowledge of its early fortunes. Without information of this kind, they may be sometimes at a loss to improve an opportunity for weakening its hold upon the grosser elements of society.

The eighth century, then, did not go the lengths in paganising churches that after ages did, and that our own days retain. Virgin Marys, on pedestals, with tinsel crowns and spangled petticoats, were unknown. So were other objects of the same kind equally startling to Protestant eyes. One of the most ridiculous of them is a wooden giant, called St. Christopher, that would range excellently well with Gog and Magog in the Guildhall of London. A striking specimen of this colossal experiment upon vulgar credulity makes part of the raree-show in the cathedral of Cologne, and the writer was assured by a young man who thrust himself upon him as a guide, that the history of this overgrown personage was in the Bible. When this was denied, he said, *Well: in the Catholic Bible.* Being told, *No: it is in no Bible.* He added, *Well: it is in a book we were taught at school.* The eighth century provided no such ways of estimating Scripture, on the banks of the Rhine, or in any of the neighbouring districts, although wooden saints of every kind swarm there at present. Even in the East, where females and monks were wild for images, these favourite objects did not usually, if they ever did, stand out from the wall in

churches. They were either paintings, or reliefs, or mosaic work.¹ It is a pity that such ornaments could not be provided for churches without doing mischief. But, unfortunately, the mischief came. Superstitious people began by bowing to the images, afterwards they kissed them, or knelt before them, then they burnt lights, and offered up incense before them.² When their advocates are closely pressed for

¹ *I speak of flat or painted images, for the common use of those which are formed, or standing out, which people call statues, was much later in sacred edifices, except in the approach or gateway of churches; where even from the seventh century, at least among our countrymen the Gauls, protuberant sacred figures were erected.* (Mabillon, Præf. in *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* iv. 5.) It appears that, among the Greeks, carved figures had occasionally been used, because there were those who placed the sacramental bread in the hands of images before it was received by communicants. The bare existence of such a deplorable superstition shows that Leo did not attack images before it was high time to do so. The superstition, however, was the mere creature of individual fanaticism. People who provided *sacred statues* did it wholly without authority. St. Sophia's at Constantinople had no statues, but many specimens of silver chasing. *Ibid.* vii.

² *The pastors of the church approved them (images) chiefly on this account, that they should serve ignorant people for books to learn the mighty deeds of Christ the Lord and his saints, and should be useful to some for refreshing the memory of them. And indeed the first respect of the early church for sacred images pretty much consisted in this. Afterwards people came to kisses, to salutations, to kneelings, to the incensing of frankincense and perfume, and to the lighting of wax-tapers: from all which things some at first were averse as the germs of superstition; others tolerated them as the acts of rude simplicity; others, in fine, approved them as offices of sincere piety, provided the mind were directed to the originals.* (*Ibid.* vi.) Now, as for images being the books of ignorant people, there is no doubt that this is true. But it is to be remembered that books are not all of one kind. Some of them that are true, do not come within the scope of inferior and uncultivated capacities. Others are altogether false, and cannot be mentally assimilated by any one without injury to him. Among images are books of both kinds. The most unexceptionable of them can scarcely occupy any large share of attention without unspiritualising. The great bulk of them, however, are highly exceptionable. To say nothing of St. Christophers, and other gross absurdities, the principal sculptured object in Romish churches can scarcely fail of misleading all the more ignorant and fana-

proofs of such things in the primitive church, they talk loosely of their antiquity, and say, that it was necessary to keep them down at first, for the sake of weaning men completely from paganism. But have not images tempted ignorant minds to relapse into a modified paganism? This evil, we are told, should be prevented by clerical instruction.¹ But why trust a safeguard so uncertain? Among clergymen, as in

tical devout. A tinsel-crowned and fripperily-draped Virgin, with an infant Jesus in her arms, might seem to be the object for which the church was erected. A spectator might reasonably ask, Are the worshippers here Marians? Answerable to the appearance is the reality. The ignorant people are incessantly turning to the Mother of God as they talk, and even popes are incessantly confirming them in this kind of religion; although a pope is just as unable as a ploughman to produce any scriptural authority for it, or any reason for believing that addresses to the Virgin will ever reach her. Now all this wild presumption and folly never could have survived so long in well-informed communities, had not the minds of the people generally been saturated by a reading which is below no one's capacity, and which is of the very worst kind; namely, by the religious use of images. Those primitive observers, therefore, who were *averse from images*, because they viewed them as *the germs of superstition*, were perfectly right; little as they could foresee the enormous extent of delusion, fraud, and stupidity that images have engrafted upon a system revealed and calculated for making men honest, holy, and wise.

¹ *It is the duty*, Mabillon says, *of pastors to instruct the people committed to them upon the fitting worship of images, and to prescribe a legitimate bound to it, lest it should go on to superstitions.* (*Ibid.* xvi.) This well-meant sentence is evidently fallacious, because it assumes the existence of such image-worship as is *fitting* ("de congruo cultu") and *legitimate*. Scripture contradicts this assumption, and experience proves its falsity. Mabillon and persons like him were above the tinsel, and artificial flowers, and other off-shoots from the image system. But if the bulk of Christians had been above such things, they would never be seen out of a pagoda. What is to make a considerable portion even of the clergy above them? Can every ordained man be wise, or studious, or deep-thinking? Has every such man sufficient access to books, or time for using them sufficiently? The bulk of clergymen must necessarily leave things as they find them; and if superiors call them to minister among gaudy images, with foot-lights and side-lights, and kneeling females, they will generally think these things the best sort of literature that ignorant and enthusiastic minds can comprehend.

every other extensive body, there must always be a considerable mass of negligence and incompetence. Individuals, likewise, may even place an exaggerated estimate upon the religious use of images. The authority that sanctions them connects them with miracles. The mind which approves may also believe, and hence discern but little reason for cautioning the vulgar against abuse. The Isaurian Leo, therefore, acted wisely in forbidding the religious use of images altogether. Beyond the Alps, a middle course was taken. Images themselves were not forbidden, only all religious notice of them. They were, however, nothing more than figures on the surface of a wall. Statues were only to be seen in the church-porch, where, Mabillon says, they began to appear among the Franks in the seventh century. By the end of the ninth, Frankish objections to such objects had lost some of their edge. The human appetite for pagan vanities being stimulated and sustained by papal influence was gradually becoming an overmatch for the cooler judgment of a former age. A few were wise enough to deplore the prospect, and bold enough to say so.¹ Way had been made for a

¹ The worship of images may be considered as finally settled by the fourth Council of Constantinople in 870. This council went upon the old principle of treating images as books, and says, *We decree that the sacred image of our Lord Jesus Christ, the deliverer and saviour of all, be adored with equal honour with the book of the holy gospels.* This is said to be *according to the congruence of reason and most ancient tradition.* Upon the *congruence* people may differ, and *most ancient* is a very unsatisfactory mode of evading the question. *How ancient?* Similar honours are then claimed for other images, and curses are very freely bestowed upon those who would have suppressed this class of literature. The folly of these Constantinopolitan divines is, indeed, enormous. Who ever heard of setting up the gospels on high to be honoured with

change by religious notice, long conceded on all hands, to the cross and relics. At length scarcely a trace of old objections was to be discerned, and Europe went gradually forward into that palpable mist of superstition, which not only still stultifies great numbers of professed Christians, but also disgraces the noblest churches by petty shows of vulgar frippery suited only to a fair.

But although papal authority was a great point gained for image-worship, it required something more to establish it firmly. Unknown among transalpine Christians, and forbidden in the East, it might, after all, be eventually rooted out. Its threatening fortunes were effectively repaired by a minority of the imperial throne. The sovereign, being a child of ten years old, fell under his mother's tutelage, and she, the celebrated Irene, was behind none of her sex, or any monk, in admiration of images. Her active patronage of them has caused some writers to talk of her as a very religious person.¹ She really was an

bows, and kisses, and rows of candles, and incense? Are all books that treat of religion to have a certain ceremony thrown around them? If so, Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* may claim a half-quarter row of candles? For it is to be understood, that opponents of image religious literature put it upon a level with books adverse to Christianity altogether, and they have Scripture to back them. They are justified by the Bible in considering the notions infused into vulgar minds by the religious use of images as heathenish and false. The Bertinian annalist, cited by Mabillon, was therefore perfectly right in saying of the fourth Council of Constantinople, that its decisions *for adoring images were otherwise than orthodox doctors had before defined, and for the favour of the Roman pontiff*. Mabillon considers the annalist to write here *rather too severely* ("paulo durius"), but he admits his language to be evidence that, towards the end of the ninth century, the Franks yet had objections to image-worship. *Ibid.* xvi. Labb. et Coss. viii. 1127.

¹ "Catholica religione ac pietate florentissima mulier." Labb. et Coss. vii. 6.

ambitious, cruel female, of whom serious people have the least possible reason to be proud. But she could assemble a council to contravene the decisions against images, which had been synodically passed at Constantinople in 730. This was done at Nice; in Bythinia, in 787. The assembly there may be considered as entirely oriental. There were, indeed, two legates present, who represented Adrian I., the Roman bishop; and it is a proof of his eagerness to do any thing for images, that he would mix himself up with a body so decidedly Asiatic. His predecessor, Gregory II., had expounded, in his first letter to Leo the Isaurian, the text, *wheresoever the carcase is there will the eagles be gathered together*¹, by saying that the *carcase* is Christ, and the *eagles* religious men who loved him, and therefore came from all parts to Jerusalem, where they painted his picture, with other pictures of holy persons, which people afterwards worshipped instead of the devil, but not with *latría*, the highest kind of worship.² Answerable to this vein of expounding Scripture were most of the deutero-Nicene proceedings. Although the

¹ *St. Matt.* xxiv. 27.

² "Cœperunt ab universo terrarum orbe homines velut aquilæ advolantes Hierosolymam venire, prout in evangeliiis dixit Dominus, *Ubi fuerit corpus, illic congregabuntur et aquilæ*. Christus autem cadaver, aquilæ in sublime volantes, religiosi sunt homines et Christi amantes. Qui Dominum cum vidissent, prout viderant, spectandum ipsum proponentes depinxerunt: cum Jacobum, fratrem Domini, vidissent, prout viderant, spectandum ipsum proponentes depinxerunt: cum Stephanum protomartyrem vidissent, prout viderant, spectandum ipsum proponentes depinxerunt: et ut uno verbo dicam, cum facies martyrum, qui sanguinem pro Christo fuderant, vidissent, depinxerunt; et his conspectis deinceps in toto terrarum orbe, homines, diaboli adorationibus derelictis, has exhibuerunt non *latría*, sed *habitudine* (ταύτας προσεκύνησαν οὐ λατρευτικῶς ἀλλὰ σχετικῶς"). Labb. et Coss. vii. 14.

days were none of the most enlightened, it is really surprising that a large assembly of grave, well-informed men should have lent themselves to the senseless tales and inconsequential reasonings that came before them.¹ The sum of their decision is this: images in painting, or mosaic work, or any other suitable material, of Christ, the Virgin, angels, saints, and pious men, were authorised in churches, or other places, whether public or private, either as ornaments for a wall, or for sacred vessels, or vestments, in order that, by frequently seeing such representations, men might be stirred up to the profitable remembrance of the parties represented. Respect was to be shown to these objects by a kiss, and honorary adoration, but not by *latria*, which is a worship peculiar to the Divinity. The veneration claimed for them was to be the same as that which is due to the figure of the cross, to the holy gospels, and to the sacred eucharistic oblations.² Incense and lights might, however, be used in honour of them, as was the religious practice of the ancients.³ Thus the deutero-

¹ The fifth action is the one most conspicuous for these absurdities.

² Mabillon has *donaria*, which he explains by *the set out gifts of the most holy sacrifice of the mass*, which, he says, were venerated among the Greeks even before consecration.

³ "Definimus cum omni diligentia et cura, venerandas et sanctas imagines ad modum et formam venerandæ et vivificantis crucis, e coloribus et tessellis, aut alia quavis materia commode paratas, dedicandas, et in templis sanctis Dei collocandas, habendasque: tum in sacris vasis et vestibulis, tum in parietibus et tabulis, in ædibus privatis, in viis publicis: maxime autem imaginem Domini et Dei Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, deinde intemeratæ dominæ nostræ deiparæ, venerandorum angelorum, et omnium deinde sanctorum virorum. Quo scilicet, per hanc imaginum pictarum inspectionem, omnes qui contemplantur ad proto-typorum memoriam et recordationem et desiderium veniant, illisque salutationem et honorariam adorationem exhibeant, non secundum fidem

Nicene Council says nothing of statues: they did not meet a worshipper as yet, and in the Greek church they have never been introduced.¹ If Romanism had been equally discreet, vulgar frippery and stupid superstition would have been kept from disgracing many a glorious fane. Another thing which often offends Protestant eyes in Romish churches is also unauthorised by the second Council of Nice, namely, any representation of the Trinity. That age admitted of no such liberty.² Eager as Italians and Levantines were for image-worship, they were, as yet, not prepared for a venerable old man, a young man with a cross, and a dove hovering in the air, grouped together. Thirdly, the deutero-Nicene Council makes the worship claimed never absolute, but wholly relative.³ It is to turn upon the prototypes, or parties represented, who are to be the real objects of attention; the figures of them serving merely to keep alive respect for their memories, and anxiety to profit by their examples. Fourthly, no object marked out

nostram, veram latriam, quæ solum divinæ naturæ competit; sed quemadmodum typo venerandæ et vivificantis crucis, et sanctis evangeliiis, et reliquis sacris oblationibus suffitorum et luminarium reverenter accedimus; quemadmodum veteribus pie in consuetudinem hoc adductum est. Imaginis enim honor in prototypum resultat, et qui adorat imaginem, in ea adorat quoque descriptum argumentum." (Labbe et Coss. vii. 886.) Mabillon's version is closer to the Greek, and slightly varies from this.

¹ Observandum "nullam in eo (decreto) fieri mentionem statuarum, quas nondum usus ferebat, immo neque ad hunc usque diem fert apud Græcos." Mabillon, Præf. in *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* iv. 6.

² "Deinde in superiori concilii Nicæni definitione observo, nihil etiam decerni de sanctissimæ Trinitatis, Dei Patris, aut Spiritûs Sancti picturis, quas necdum etiam admittebat ætas illa." *Ibid.* vii.

³ "Tertium imaginibus Christi Domini ac sanctorum, non absolutum, sed relativum dumtaxat cultum concedi qui ad *προτότυπα* referatur." *Ibid.* vii.

for veneration by the deutero-Nicenes was to have any other than one of an honorary or external kind, such as was habitually given among the Greeks to the cross, and to the eucharistic oblations.¹ Hence it has been observed, a notion common among the schoolmen is unfounded, namely, that which claims for Christ's image and the cross *the relative adoration of latria*.² The council concedes nothing of the sort, but reserves *latria* for the Divinity alone. To these observations, which are Mabillon's, may fairly be added another. The council places lights and incense among honours given to images by the ancients, but gives no clue to its estimate of antiquity. Mabillon himself admits the proneness of vulgar minds to worship visible objects, and hence makes all images to have been forbidden by *some* of the early clergy, lest abuses should spring up which would scandalise the Gentiles.³ For *some of the early clergy*, he pro-

¹ "Quantum, τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν, id est, honorariam, seu externam adorationem, non verum *latriæ* cultum, soli Divinæ naturæ debitum, deferri, eum ad modum quo *crucem ac sancta donoria*, hoc est, proposita sacrosancti missæ sacrificii munera, quæ Græci etiam nunc ante consecrationem honorant, venerantur." *Ibid.* vii.

² "Ex quo manifestum est deceptos fuisse, quemadmodum notavit in primis Guillelmus Estius, scholasticos plerosque, qui imagini Christi, et sanctæ cruci, *latriæ* relativam (quam vocant) adorationem tribuendam esse, affirmarunt, contra expressam hujusce concilii ac veterum patrum definitionem." (*Ibid.* vii.) The schoolmen here very well exemplify the development of corrupt doctrine. Men began by forgetting the second commandment so far as to salute the cross. Next, they saluted representations of holy personages, or events. They went on to honour these things by kisses, genuflections, incense, and lights. Afterwards it was discovered, and by very keen heads, that some of these things might receive in some sort of way the kind of worship that is due to the Deity. This process is analogous to that which takes place in natural substances under the action of a morbid influence. The development is always from bad to worse.

³ "Sed quia prona quadam facilitate vulgus in visibilia ferri ac dif-

bably would have said *all*, if his church's credit had not withholden him. Those who would father the religious use of images upon primitive antiquity, must let us know where their proofs are to be found. The learned and candid Benedictine would, undoubtedly, have given this information if he could.

After formally approving the deutero-Nicene decrees, Adrian sent them to Charlemain, and other princes of the Latin communion.¹ The reception with which they met shows how people talk at random, who represent submission to the papal see as established in that age. Nobody seems to have dreamt of its infallibility, although in this case it spoke through a synod. On the contrary, Gaul, Germany, and Britain dissented immediately and entirely from the deutero-Nicenes. They were branded as a *pseudo-synod*, and their decisions were utterly repudiated.² Aroused by the ferment which this oriental

fluere solet; quibusdam ecclesiæ pastoribus principio consultius visum est omnino temperare ab imaginum usu, quam, eo admissio, occasionem dare colendi imagines, cum gentilium scandalo et offensa." (*Ibid.* v.) The natural proneness of ordinary minds, whether in high or low stations, to worship visible objects, is no doubt the reason why all such worship is forbidden in Scripture; and if men would learn divinity from the Bible, and not from what they call tradition, meaning thereby themselves, Romish churches would not be disgraced by the tawdry glitter of a show booth, and Romish piety would not be spending itself before some deaf and dumb image, in the hope of awakening the interest of some dead person, but would pour its earnest supplications before the mercy-seat of the living God.

¹ "Absoluta synodo, patres ejus decreta retulere ad summum pontificem Hadrianum, qui ea probavit, atque auctoritate sua roboravit, missa hac de re relatione ad Carolum Magnum, aliosque principes Latine communionis." Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* ii. 290.

² *The pseudo-synod, which the Greeks call the Seventh, for adoring images, was altogether disclaimed.* (Ado Viennen. *Bibl. PP.* vii. 376.) This disclaimer was made at the Council of Frankfort. It is observable that an archbishop, in the middle of the ninth century, writes in this way of a synod to which the papal see stood committed.

importation created among his prelacy, Charlemain committed an examination of the matter to some select members of that body. Their work first came forward in 790, but it was not sent to Rome until two years later.¹ It was either the document known as the *Caroline Books*, or the chief arguments therein. Adrian was under the necessity of answering it, but what he said gave no satisfaction. Charlemain, accordingly, brought images before the council, which he summoned, in 794, at Frankfort. This body formally and contemptuously condemned, in its second canon, the deutero-Nicene doctrine as to images, although two legates of the pope were present.² Not only Gaul and Germany, but even, as it seems, Britain also sent forth prelates to this assembly.³ Its decision, therefore, embodies the sense of all transalpine Christendom as to images. They might be con-

¹ "Offendit Gallicanos præsules προσκυνήσεως seu adorationis nomen, quod imaginibus sacris synodus tribuebat. Hinc querelis ad Cærolum delatis, commissæ est cura nonnullis episcopis colligendi capitula quædam ex sanctis patribus de imaginum cultu. Anno post synodum tertio, hoc est, anno Christi 790, editum est hac de re opusculum in quatuor libros divisum: quod quidem integrum, aut certe quædam capitula ex eo selecta, ut censet Petavius, Carolus anno 792, per Angilbertum, abbatem Centulensem, transmisit ad Hadrianum papam, ut Gallicanæ ecclesiæ ejusque expostulationis rationem pontifex haberet." Mabillon, Præf. in *Acta, SS. Ord. Bened.* iv. 7.

² *The question was brought forward concerning the late synod of the Greeks, which they had at Constantinople about adoring images; in which it was written, that those who should not pay to the images of the saints, service or adoration, as to the divine Trinity, should be judged accursed. This our aforesaid most holy fathers despised and unanimously condemned, denying adoration and servitude in all manner of ways ("omnimodis adorationem et servitutem renuentes").* Labb. et Coss. vii. 1057.

³ *That bishops were called to this synod by Charles from the parts of Britain, Charles himself is witness in his epistle which stands third before the Frankfortian canons, which I interpret of oversea Britain.* Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* ii. 311.

tinued for ornament and commemoration, but all religious notice of them was forbidden, as contrary both to scripture and the fathers. Their apologists would bottom all this opposition to them in mistake. The West, we are told, was revolted by the Greek word *προσκύνησις*, or *adoration*, which really need not bear an offensive sense, especially if it be guarded by the qualifying term, *τιμητική*, *honorary*, as it was at Nice.¹ But even admitting some misapprehension here among the western divines from an imperfect knowledge of Greek, image-worship will gain nothing. Transalpine Christendom would admit it in no sense. All distinctions of direct and relative, or of primary and secondary, were totally disregarded.² As for honouring images with a view to honour saints, Agobard meets the notion by Isaiah's words, which make Jehovah say, *My glory will I not give to another, neither*

¹ Sirmond says, *It is truly wonderful that our people could have a suspicion of the Greeks, or traduce the Nicene Council, upon the ground which the Frankfortian canon declares ; as if it enacted that images were to be adored with divine worship ; when in that synod nothing can be more express, than that under the name of adoration, or προσκύνησις, which is given to images, true latria is not understood, which is due to the divine nature, but only an honorary veneration, by which, while we show respect for images, we honour the prototypes themselves through them.* (Labb. et Coss. vii. 1055.) Whether *προσκύνησις* was properly understood at Frankfort, or not, it is at least clear, that injustice was done to the deuterio-Nicenes by making them claim for images of the saints the same sort of respect that was due to the Trinity. But that will not affect the Frankfort decision. This denies *every sort of adoration and servitude to images*. The deuterio-Nicenes originally met at Constantinople, but public feeling would not allow them to proceed there. It may, therefore, be considered as another inaccuracy of the Frankfort Council to speak of its opponents as if their business had been done at Constantinople.

² "At unum id erat in quo Galli a Græcis dissidebant, nimirum, quod cultum etiam honorarium seu externum imagini cuilibet denegabant, non tantum absolutum, sed etiam relativum, ut vocant, et transitorium." Mabillon, Præf. in *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* iv. 10.

*my praise to graven images.*¹ The only error committed by the western divines was their tolerance of images at all. Such things might make excellent ornaments for churches if human nature could be permanently placed upon a higher footing. But, unfortunately, great efforts are needed for keeping it from grovelling in the dust, and it has been shown by the experience of ages, that such efforts are very liable to be defeated by the religious use of images. Their commemorative and ornamental position in the western churches made way for the appeal in their favour to the Gauls, which came from the pen of Anastasius, the pope's librarian, in the ninth century.² The eyes of worshippers were habitually met by them, and as the papal see honoured them in the old pagan way, its influence, backed by human weakness, was sure to

¹ Isa. xlii. 8. *Let not again fraudulent craft run back to its lurking places, and say that saints' images are not adored, but saints, for God cries out, My glory, &c.* Agobard, 254.

² Anastasius addressing John VIII. upon the deutero-Nicene Council says, *What it teaches upon the adoration of venerable images, these things both your apostolic see, as some writings intimate, has holden from ancient times ("tenuit antiquitus"), and the universal church has always venerated (them) and up to this time venerates, some of the Gauls alone being excepted; to whom, in fact, the utility of them has not yet been revealed.* (Labb. et Coss. vii. 31.) Anastasius proceeds to say that the parties yet unfavoured by this revelation denied the lawfulness of adoring any work of human hands, and yet they kissed the gospels which were written by human hands, and adored the cross, although it was not our Lord's cross, but merely *a figure and image of it*. From this he reasons that a figure of Christ is more worthy of adoration than of the cross that bore him. By such arguments, with assistance from human weakness, image-worship triumphed over opposition, and we may learn from this fact to keep clear of all superstitious ceremonies. Sensible men may kiss the Bible, and pull off their hats to the cross without any injury to themselves; but if these things be regularly and ostentatiously done, the pagan leaven which lurks at the bottom of human nature will betray inferior minds back to the heathenism which is in words disclaimed.

do all that could be desired by their friends in the long run. Churches accordingly, in the former dominions of Charlemain, have presented, for ages, any thing rather than the appearance offered by them in his days. An intelligent oriental pagan might survey their Virgins and Children, with other such objects, and very reasonably say, These people are mere heretics and schismatics.¹ Their Virgins and Children, with other shameful profanations of our primæval faith, are evidently copied from us. But although they have a great many large books in favour of their

¹ The Eastern god Budha is represented as the offspring of the virgin Maya. The following translation from Böhlen, in Archdeacon Grant's *Bampton Lectures*, shows that Romanists in Asia have actually felt as pagans are supposed in the text likely to feel in Romish Europe. "The first missionaries, after some residence in Thibet, were perfectly confounded by the exact counterfeit of their own ceremonies; and the fathers Grecher and Maffei adopt the language used by some old writers of the church, when unable to deny the priority of certain heathen customs, and say, *that in Thibet the devil imitated the Catholic Church.*" The following particulars will show the closeness of this imitation so early as the fifth century. "Monasteries of which the numbers were immense, and in which celibacy was practised; the monks adopted religious names; refectories were used for meals, which were commenced at a given signal, and at which silence and great order were prescribed; processions of images were used, these figures being highly adorned; relics of saints and gods were venerated; an unknown dialect was employed in the sacred books, and as the language of religion, and a belief was held of a purifying process by bodily suffering after death." (*Bampt. Lect.* for 1843, Lond. 1844, p. 398.) These particulars plainly show the peculiarities of paganism and Romanism to have a common origin. Whether the two fathers were correct in making one of the systems a mere satanic imitation need not be discussed here. It is sufficient to say, that the *imitation* does not appear to be one of any Christian system, but of an earlier date than Christianity. As for a divine birth from a virgin, that was expected extensively among the ancient pagans. It was the idea which gained a high degree of religious fame for Chartres and its neighbourhood, at a very remote period, and which prepared the way for the adoration of the Virgin that eventually raised the glorious cathedral in that place. The expectation, most likely, came from a primæval tradition current in the ancient world.

adaptations, they are convicted by those very volumes of a grievous departure from the truth. All their documents are like the creations of yesterday in comparison with ours. Nothing is nearly old enough to be worthy of any serious attention.

England seems to have looked upon the deuterо-Nicenes very much as her continental neighbours did. Not only were some of her eminent divines at the Frankfort Council¹, but also there was at home a formal condemnation, and in very severe language, of the Asiatic decrees.² This condemnation has been conveniently represented as deficient in evidence. Harpsfield strove thus to still its unmanageable voice.³

¹ Froben in Alcuin, *Opp.* i. 931. Mabillon says that British bishops were present. (*Annall. Bened.* ii. 311.) The authority is a letter of Charlemain's to Elipandus and other Spanish bishops, which may be seen in Froben's *Alcuin*, ii. 582.

² See the Author's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 120. *Bampt. Lect.* 171.

³ "To this narrative Harpsfield gives the title of *commentitia et insula fabula*, and thinks it not writ by Sim. Dunelmensis, or Mat. Westminster) he might have added Hoveden, the MS. History of Rochester), but that it was anciently inserted into them. For answer to which he would be desired to produce any one old copy without it, not mangled, so as it doth *prodere furtum* by wanting it." (*Twisden's Historical Vindication of the Church of England*, Lond. 1675, p. 182.) Froben throws a general air of doubt over *this narrative*, as coming from writers long after the event, and being unconfirmed by Alcuin's ancient biographer, or by any allusion in his own extant letters. (*Alc. Opp.* ii. 460.) Dr. Lingard says, "The story comes to us in a very questionable shape. It does not rest on contemporary authority; it is not mentioned by any Anglo-Saxon writer; it was first made public about four hundred years after the date of the event by some of the Anglo-Norman chroniclers of the eleventh century. Whence did they procure the information? They all relate the tale in the very same words; a proof that they copy one and the same writer. But who he was, when or where he lived, what was the origin, or what the value of his testimony, is totally unknown. Can we then rely on it?" (*Hist. and Antiq. of the A. S. Ch.* ii. 115.) When the story was first made public is unknown, its earliest extant appearance being in Hoveden, the first part of whose annals Maseres shows to have been written by some writer whose name has perished, within fifty or sixty years of the Conquest.

In his day, and long afterwards, it was the fashion with Romanists to dispose of testimony that could not be explained away, by pronouncing it spurious. Thus Ratramn was to be exploded as a forgery by Oecolampadius¹; the Caroline Books were, at least, interpolated by the heretics²; as for Elfric, he was a mere bugbear conjured up by some Protestant magic lantern. Name, language, characters, and all, must have come from some anti-papal Psalmanazar.³ Time and

As image-worship was then the fashion, he was not likely to invent this statement. Simeon of Durham wrote, probably, a few years later. That both he and Westminster use the same words that are to be found in Hoveden may merely be because they wrote from a common document, which gave a testimony that no one of the three authors relished. Honesty exacted a transcript from them, but nothing farther. Dr. Lingard has more to say upon this matter in his notes (p. 397.). He could not fail of being anxious to keep people from thinking that England, in the eighth century, neither worshipped images, nor felt bound to obey the pope. He, therefore, serves up again the common Romish quibbles about *latría* and *dulia*. But any one who wishes to see the inapplicability of such mystification to this case has only to read the third chapter in Mabillon's preface to the fourth century of his *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* As for the worship of the cross, to which Dr. Lingard refers under his difficulty, it is plain from Anastasius, quoted in a former note, that western Europe would not give to images the same respectful treatment that she gave to the cross. To infer, therefore, this treatment in one case from its existence in the other, is to argue against a known fact. In one respect, Dr. Lingard has pointed out an inaccuracy in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, for which an apology must be made. Undoubtedly, the ancient English chroniclers do not say, as that work does, that Adrian transmitted the deutero-Nicene decrees to Charlemain, but that they were sent to him from Constantinople. Adrian's concern in them, however, which is the main point, no one disputes.

¹ This is the representation of Sixtus of Siena and Possevin. *Dissert. sur Ratramne*, prefixed to his treatise. Fr. trans. Amst. 1717, p. 108.

² If one may believe *Le Cointe*, says Mabillon. (*Annal. Bened.* ii. 312.) Did the learned Benedictine believe him here? His language does not sound as if he did.

³ Elfric's name, Hardouin says, is Hebrew, and means God the Redeemer; his language is nothing but the German of that day; the characters in which it is written were merely made up for the occasion; his homily on the Eucharist is in *the sense, style, and sometimes the*

criticism have, however, driven such modes of discrediting what defies an answer very much out of sight. But it seems they still retain a lingering hold upon Romish affections. Harpsfield's needful succour to the deutero-Nicene synod must be tried once more.¹ It cannot, however, maintain its ground, and may be unceremoniously sent into the rear as a companion for the other well-meant but unserviceable recruits. The vexatious passage not only stands upon unquestionable manuscript authority, and is adopted by several ancient writers, but it is also in perfect consonance with known facts. Who will venture to deny that Charlemain and his subjects were at issue with Rome as to image-worship? What reader does not know that Alcuin was both highly respected by the Frankish monarch, and by his own countrymen? That scholar seems, indeed, even to have been at Frankfort. Undoubtedly his authority was treated

very language, heretical, namely, of Ratramn. (See the passage extracted from the preface to Hicke's *Thesaurus*, in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 222.) No doubt Elfric does use the *sense, style, and sometimes the very language of Ratramn*, which is a fact that proves neither the one nor the other to be *heretical*, but to put forth a divinity, which might be going out of fashion on the continent, but which no public authority ventured to condemn in that day.

¹ *Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 115. The passage has been already extracted. Sir Roger Twisden thus treats Harpsfield's attempt in this case. "For my part, I do not know how any thing we mislike in history may not after this manner be rejected; if a relation, gathered from monuments of an elder date, which are perished, yet cited by one who lived not so long after the time he speaks of but they might well come to his hands, whom he finds very sincere in such citations as yet remain out of more old authors than himself, ever esteemed of good credit in the church of God, and in his narration followed *ad verbum* by those who writing of the same matter succeeded him; I confess, I say, if this may be cast away as a lying and foolish fable, I know not what shall gain credit. But what will men not lay hold on in a desperate shipwreck?" *Hist. Vindic.* 183.

with great respect by the council there.¹ It is, therefore, utterly improbable, that England should have thought upon images differently from her continental neighbours. Whether Alcuin was employed upon the Caroline Books, or not, few thinking persons will suppose him averse from their doctrine, or likely to hold

¹ Froben says, *It is believed that Alcuin was present at this Frankfort assembly, as it seems may be collected from its last canon.* (Alc. Opp. i. 981.) He (Charlemain) also recommended that this holy synod should deign to receive Alcuin into its company and prayers ("in suo consortio, sive in orationibus"), because he was a man skilled in ecclesiastical learning. All the synod, accordingly, agreed to the recommendation of our lord the king, and received him into their company and prayers. (Labb. et Coss. vii. 1064.) If *sive* is to be taken in a conjunctive sense, as it often is in mediæval Latin, this passage is conclusive as to Alcuin's presence at Frankfort. Mabillon, however, does not seem to take it so. He says, *The reason why Charles so much commended Charles to the fathers of the council that he took care to make him partaker of the prayers of them all, appears to be this, that he did a great deal towards preparing the acts of the council, and perhaps because the bishops made use of him for putting together the Caroline Books.* (Annall. Bened. ii. 312.) This learned Benedictine, therefore, supposes that Alcuin might be concerned in the Caroline Books, one of the documents which cut up Romanism by the roots. It is not easy to see how any thing else can be supposed. But still advocates of the Latin system must feel it as an awkward supposition, and one that requires considerable candour to avow. Froben, accordingly, disputes it, and Dr. Lingard follows in his wake. These eminent scholars assume that those who attribute the Caroline Books to Alcuin, make them absolutely identical with the Epistle which Hoveden and other ancient writers say he wrote from England to Charlemain. Now they say, the Caroline Books are not an epistle, nor addressed to Charlemain, but to the pope, and must have been written when Alcuin was in England, and are not written in the name of any Anglo-Saxon, but of Charlemain himself. (Froben in Alc. ii. 460. *Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 402.) The fact, however, of this compilation being made in England is a confirmation of the account given by the ancient chroniclers. As for a positive identity between Alcuin's letter and the Caroline Books few or none are likely to maintain it. The probability is, that Alcuin, while in England, put most of the matter together, and sent it over to Charlemain, by whom it was used with farther assistance in preparing a formal answer to the pope. This leaves the Caroline Books in possession of the ground as an exposition of the opinion entertained by Alcuin and his countrymen upon image-worship. The defence of scriptural truth in this case requires no more.

opinions which did not prevail among his countrymen. The ancient chroniclers, whom Harpsfield would fain have discredited, and who yet are to be spoken of as liable to some suspicion, lived after image-worship had worked its way into the country's religious habits. Hence they were not likely to deal it a staggering blow on light evidence. They found, no doubt, what honesty forbade them to suppress, and in placing their information upon record, they have merely confirmed an opinion which inexorable history forces on the mind. Let people who can be smitten by image-worship, or even approve it as useful for the vulgar, hear of nothing but a controversy upon the question which the see of Rome suppressed by its authority, then Harpsfield's treatment of our ancient chroniclers may readily pass muster. Iconoclasts and heretics may go for convertible terms. Constantine, bishop of Nacolia, who opposed image-worship as contrary to the Decalogue, and Bezor, the renegade, who represented it as the great stumbling-block with Mahometans, may seem fitly yoked together as a pair of heresiarchs. But let it be known that papal patronage of images went for nothing all over the territories of Charlemain; that Adrian's desire to win favour for them from that prince, only drew from him a refutation of the arguments alleged for them, one by one, and a synodical rejection of the whole deuterio-Nicene system, then it will be seen that England scarcely could have acted otherwise in the controversy than as is represented by some of her venerable chroniclers.

Papal Rome's formal adoption of image-worship tempted her into a habit of mutilating the Decalogue. Finding it impossible to face the second commandment, she easily found reasons for keeping it out of sight. Such dealing with a religious summary unquestionably divine so violates all current notions of probability, that people who do not know the fact generally withhold assent when they first hear of it. Romanists doubt whether the words cited by Protestants really are in Scripture, or they make the whole question turn upon some peculiarities in the arrangement of the commandments. Their authorities tell them that nothing else is really in dispute. Even English people, still professed Protestants but living in France, may be found who take this view. They are too careless of religious matters, or too fond of their French acquaintances, or too liberal, as they fancy, to open their eyes widely enough for seeing any thing around which neighbours more discerning than themselves wish them not to see. In England, ordinarily, any notice of a mutilated Decalogue is received with incredulity. It is quietly set aside as coming from one who is violently prejudiced against Roman Catholics, and who consequently is very likely to run headlong into some enormous blunder in their case, although perhaps he may be above any deliberate misrepresentation. Such is the confidence thus given even to cautious Romanists, that a very skilful and ingenious apologist for their creed some time ago denied in print all suppression, on his church's part, and maintained, but without particulars, a real identity between her Decalogues and those of Pro-

testants.¹ The two are, nevertheless, very different. In a Protestant Decalogue, as in Scripture, are ten distinct prohibitions, one of them being against religious honours to graven images, or manual similitudes of any kind. In an ordinary Romish Decalogue there are only nine distinct prohibitions, that against coveting being divided into two commandments, while that against religious honours to manual similitudes is wholly omitted. This omission is not,

¹ The writer who signs J. R. mentions a difference in the arrangement of the Psalms between the Vulgate and the English version, the latter being that of the original Hebrew. He then says, "it is similarly that the Catholics, *while they maintain the integrity*, vary the distribution, of the precepts of the Decalogue." (*Gent. Mag.* for Decem. 1843, p. 594.) Undoubtedly the Latins *maintain the integrity* of the Decalogue in the Vulgate and other Bibles. But the Vulgate requires learning to read, and other Bibles require clerical permission to read, according to notions prevalent in the Church of Rome. The real question is, Does the Decalogue *in its integrity* habitually meet the Romish eye? J. R., who writes from Cork, knows best how that matter stands in Ireland. In France, unquestionably, this *integrity* is very rare except in the churches of native Protestants, in which the Decalogue seems to be always written on the walls, and of course with no prohibition omitted, but which native Romanists very seldom enter. English Romanists, if we may judge from Challoner's *Garden of the Soul*, which has had a great name among them, are much in the same predicament with their French brethren as to the Decalogue. That right reverend authority sets down many heads of self-examination under the Ten Commandments, but in the various offences which his penitents are to consider under the first of them, the only perceptible reference to that long part which is represented as a mere appendage is this. "Have you been guilty of idolatry, or of giving divine honours to any thing created?" He then flies off to witchcraft, and other such irrelevancies. Now what good can be gotten from divinity like this? If sensible, serious persons habitually saw the second commandment, or, as some divines choose to call it, the long appendage to the first commandment, they might be led into suspecting the unsoundness of Romish principles and practice. But if any such suspicion arose from the trifling hint given by Dr. Challoner, it might be easily stifled by mystifications about *latria* and *dulia*. J. R. therefore, when he talked of the Decalogue *in its integrity*, should have told us where people of his communion are to find it; in the Bible, which few of them read, or in the various books and representations which are provided for general instruction?

indeed, quite universal. The omitted matter is to be found in an English Primer anterior to the Reformation.¹ There was also to be seen, and probably still is, the second commandment, in French, at the back of a pulpit at Vire, in Lower Normandy. But it was not in the principal church of that town, was in a small character, and from its position was likely to escape any general attention. Incredible as it may seem, the divine prohibition of religious honours to manual similitudes of every kind can scarcely ever meet an ordinary Romish eye. It is pleaded, sometimes, in behalf of its non-appearance, that it was meant merely for the Jews²; at other times, that very ancient authorities have considered it a mere

¹ The volume has no title-page. Mr. Maskell has rendered a valuable service to theological literature by publishing it from a MS. which is ascribed to 1410, or thereabouts. There seem to be seven other known MSS. of the same work in England, which appears to be properly called a *Primer*. The Commandments, ordinarily taken as the first and second, are put together, but are entire. They are thus introduced: "The firste commaundement of God is this." After that against false witness, which is called "the eigthe," we read, "The ninthe and tenth commaundermentes ben these." Then follows what Protestants call the tenth commandment. This Decalogue, therefore, is not chargeable with any breach of integrity, only with clumsiness of arrangement. *Monumenta Ritualia Eccl. Engl.* Lond. 1846, ii. 178.

² "It may be reasonably questioned, then, whether the commandment which stands second in our Decalogue, upon which the prohibition of images is principally grounded, was intended for more than temporary observance in the letter. It follows, that if the letter of the Decalogue is but partially binding on Christians, it is as justifiable in setting it before persons under instruction, to omit such parts as do not apply to them, as, when we quote passages from the Pentateuch in sermons or lectures generally, to pass over verses which refer simply to the temporal promises, or the ceremonial law." (Newman, *On Development*, Lond. 1845, pp. 434, 435.) People may differ as to the *reasonableness of questioning* the eternal obligation of the commandment against religious honours to graven images and similitudes. But evidently those who hold its universal applicability have the best of the argument, because that commandment is one of the Ten, and the principle of it runs through the whole Bible. It is, therefore, most improper to omit it in manuals, or other things intended for *persons under instruction*.

member of the first commandment; and as this may thus be often found inconveniently long, it may be sufficiently represented by its opening member.¹ So confident are leading Romanists in some such principle, that it has guided a series of reliefs, lately executed for a place no less conspicuous than the Magdalen Church at Paris. That beautiful building, which is modelled upon an enlarged scale after a Grecian temple, and occupies an unrivalled situation in the magnificent capital of France, has a pair of folding doors that would be worthy of it if they honestly spoke the truth. But unfortunately for the credit of some one who must have known better, they undertake to teach the Decalogue, and leave out God's prohibition of religious honours to similitudes.² The

¹ Dr. Lingard proceeds upon this ground in censuring the author for pointing out with regret Alfred's concern in mutilating the Decalogue. He tells us that Austin and Jerome differed about numbering the Commandments, and that Alfred might look upon that which Protestants call the second, as a corollary from the first. If he did, it is plain enough that he laboured under a mistake, the two prohibitions being perfectly different. The question, however, is not about numbering, but about suppression; and it is grievous to think that, in the guilty part of this question Alfred is implicated. *Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 420.

² These beautiful reliefs are thus explained:— 1. *Thou shalt have but one God.* 2. *Thou shalt not take his name in vain.* 3. *Sanctify the sabbath day.* 4. *Honour thy father and thy mother.* 5. *Thou shalt not kill.* 6. *Thou shalt not commit any adultery.* 7. *Thou shalt not rob.* 8. *Thou shalt not say any false witness.* 9. *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife.* 10. *Thou shalt not covet another man's goods.* The reliefs to which these words refer, so far as the present purpose is concerned, are— 1. Moses causing the tables of the Law to be adored: 2. Moses causing the blasphemer to be stoned: 3. Repose of God, and adoration of the beings created, on the seventh day: 9. God reproaching Abimelech for taking Sara: 10. Elijah reproaching Ahab and Jezebel for the murder of Naboth. The same management is found in an edition of the *Hours* for the diocese of Le Mans, and published there with the approbation of John Baptist Bouvier, the bishop, dated July 1. 1837. A metrical version of *Les Mandemens de Dieu* gives the faithful in the diocese of Le Mans this information:—

wrong thus done to ignorance is concealed, as usual, under a double prohibition of coveting what is another's. The same bold way of dealing with God's

Un seul Dieu tu adoreras,
Et aimeras parfaitement.
Dieu en vain tu ne jureras
Ni autre chose pareillement.
L'œuvre de chair ne désireras
Qu'en mariage seulement.
Biens d'autrui ne convoiteras,
Pour les avoir injustement."

Such is the religious information dispensed to *the faithful* in France. What must be the amount of *faithfulness* in the more knowing of the dispensers? Well might the Protestants of Toulouse ask, in their answer to an attack from the archbishop there, *What! does not your church blush to cut away one of God's Ten Commandments, and for making up the number, and keeping people from perceiving this faithlessness, to cut the tenth into two?* *Réponse au Mandement de Mgr. l'Archévêque de Toulouse.* (Toulouse, 1838, p. 211.) It is to be regretted that the Protestants themselves of Toulouse have given some sort of countenance to this mode of dealing with the Ten Commandments. On the two sides of the pulpit in their church there were in August, 1846, figures on the wall of large open books. One of these contained the Decalogue, with our Lord's compendious view of its purport. (*St. Matt.* xxii. 37—39.) The other contained the Apostles' Creed. In the Commandments, the second and fourth wanted the concluding argumentative clauses, the tenth wanted the detail. These curtailments were made with a view to conclude the whole ten within the two represented pages of a book. So far as the number of prohibitions goes, all was correct, which is an immense advantage over the Romish practice of suppressing one of the prohibitions. But it is most undesirable that Protestants in a Romish country should give the smallest countenance to curtailments of the Decalogue. Advantage may be taken of it to excuse doctrinal suppression to parties who know little or nothing about such matters. This was represented to a member of the congregation, who admitted its justice, and said that he would endeavour to get the case considered. It is of importance that the Protestant congregation of Toulouse should give no advantage to the holders of extra-scriptural opinions. It is a large body, numbering 900 in summer, and 1500 in winter; quite sufficient, therefore, to form a centre for diffusing scriptural truth again all over the very region that was driven into the traditions of men by the sanguinary Albigensian wars. This body, which is rendered doubly interesting by its position in the ancient home of scriptural religion, complains that, although law is now in its favour, those who administer the law do all they can to favour the dominant church at its expense.

undoubted word runs through Romish formularies, and it is a fact which must tell powerfully when the papal catastrophe approaches maturity.¹ To cloak it under pleas that some ancient writers have speculated upon modes of dividing the Decalogue, can only serve a turn. The time is coming when men will cease to drivel about number one and number two, and ask, like those who feel themselves betrayed, How can we take divinity from teachers who could not keep their hands even off the Ten Commandments?

The spirit which tempted papal authorities into this monstrous licence, was always ready in ancient times to help them out of any difficulty. Their branch of the church is not responsible for the first appearance of this spirit, only for the unsparing use of it. As has been observed in noticing the *Pontifical Book*, Christians were, probably, led by pagan converts of the philosophic class to consider falsehood as an allowable auxiliary to truth. Religious principles or practices of any kind are, however, but a secondary object in that book. Its chief aim is to magnify the Roman see. But selfish views, of some kind or other, were certain in the long run to guide the pens of religious forgers. Their earliest precedents might be

¹ Bp. Nixon, who was chaplain for some time at Naples, says, concerning the suppression of the prohibition of religious honours to graven images and the like, "The same omission is to be found, I believe, in all the summaries in use in Italy. In one put forth by the present archbishop of Pisa for the use of young people within his diocese, the abstract of the Commandments runs thus:— 1. *Thou shalt not have another God before me.* 2. *Thou shalt not take God's name in vain.* 3. *Remember to sanctify the festivals.* — 9. *Thou shalt not desire the goods of another.* 10. *Thou shalt not desire the wife of another.*" *Lectures on the Catechism*, by F. R. Nixon, D. D., Lord Bishop of Tasmania. Lond. 1843, p. 429.

pretended oracles of the Sibyls to foretell Christianity, or spurious remains of apostolic times to gratify a childish curiosity, or authorise a superstition. Men would infallibly go on, if left unchecked, from such dishonest, but not ill-meant follies, to inventions that might serve their interests. This had already been exemplified in the *Pontifical Book*. But popes could appeal to that volume only to authorise their spiritual assumptions. Therefore some fresh document was wanted after the image-worship rebellion and Frankish-help had made them into temporal princes. They got every thing required, and more too, in the famous *Donation of Constantine*. This represents the first Christian emperor to have been advised by the pagan priests of the capitol, while dreadfully leprous, to bathe there in the blood of infants, but to have been turned aside from that cruel purpose by the tears of the mothers whose children were to have been slain. On the following night he saw in a dream the apostles Peter and Paul, who bade him, as a reward for his humanity, to send for Sylvester, bishop of Rome, then seeking concealment from his persecutions in one of the caverns of Mount Soracte. He did so, received baptism from the pope, and was healed. He showed his gratitude by a gift to the Roman bishops, which far outdoes every other instance of imperial liberality, but which was nevertheless approved by his *satraps, and the universal senate and chief men, and all the people placed under the Roman empire*. Under sanction of the parties included in this unusual specification, Constantine confers upon the Roman see a supe-

riority over the four principal sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. For the use of Sylvester and his successors he surrenders the Lateran palace. For their farther gratification he gives them leave to wear the gaudy trappings of imperial state. Nor will he suffer them to want a degree of power befitting such gorgeous attire. He gives them *the city of Rome, and the provinces, places, cities of all Italy, and of the western regions*.¹ As Gaul, at least, must be among these regions, if all people could have had their own, the Roman bishops were better able to make over territories, with good titles, to the Carlovingian kings, than the Carlovingian kings to them.

But unfortunately for this unrivalled specimen of a sovereign's munificence and a people's consent, Constantine was never leprous, or a persecutor of Christians; nor was he baptized by Sylvester, nor at all in Rome, nor until very near his death; nor did either he, or his successors, give up the dominion of Rome, or of any other place, to the popes. On the contrary, the emperors kept every thing in Italy until it was taken from them either by the Lombards or the image-worshippers. There are also other difficulties utterly fatal to the credit of this extraordinary document. Nevertheless it did good service to the Roman see during many ages, and editors of the councils appear still most unwilling to give it up. Its claims to authenticity were, however, effectually destroyed by Laurence Valla, on the revival of letters; and accordingly, when Julius II. demanded of the

¹ Labb. et Coss. i. 1538.

Venetians their title to the sovereignty of the Adriatic, he was answered, *Produce the original of Constantine's Donation, and you shall have our title.*¹ The ridicule thus thrown upon this barefaced imposition encouraged Ariosto to make a joke of it², and its defence has long been universally abandoned. Leo IX., however, appealed to the granting part of it in the eleventh century, as a justification of papal pretensions³; and many generations looked up to Constantine's Donation as an authentic account of the papacy's rise, and a legal justification of much greater claims than any that it ordinarily put forth. When the account was exploded as a fable, its work was done. But surely a heavenly character cannot attach to an institution which saw the necessity of aid, and perseveringly sought it, from a fictitious instrument not only at variance with all fact, but even likewise a gross outrage upon probability.

¹ Moreri, *in voce* Constantin. Valla's Declamation to expose this fiction may be seen in Brown's *Fasiculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum*, i. 132.

² "Di varj fiori ad un gran monte passa,
Ch'ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte.
Questo era il dono (se però dir lece),
Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece."

Orlando Furioso, xxxiv. 80.

In seeking among things lost on earth, and to be found of course in the moon, for Orlando's lost wits, Astolfo passed a lofty object,

— which

*Once smelt well, now stinks abominably.
It was the gift (if one may say such things),
Which good Sylvester got from Constantine.*

³ In an epistle to Michael, patriarch of Constantinople, the pope makes this extract, *that every member of our catholic mother may know us to follow that teaching of Peter, which says*, we have not followed cunningly devised fables, &c. (2 Pet. i. 16.) If it were not pretty certain that a man writing in 1050, or thereabouts, knew no better, this language would sound like irony. Labb. et Coss. ix. 957.

As Constantine's Donation has lost its glory, though not its established place, among Romish documents, or the lingering affections of such as delight in the mediæval church, there are several debates as to the pen which did so much for papal greatness. It could be no Latin hand that held it, say some of the staunchest partisans of Rome, not only because the document seems to have first come forward in Greek, but also because the Roman see is made superior to the oriental patriarchates by a grant from Constantine. The latter objection is represented as decisive. Whatever grounds popes may have for a superiority to laymen, their authority over all the clergy is a divine endowment which was indefeasibly their own long before Constantine was born. Enquirers who will not run away with assumptions but seek for facts, naturally wish to know how high the fictitious title-deed of papal grandeur can be traced. They may find its legendary portion in an epistle from Pope Adrian I. to another Constantine, and his image-worshipping mother, Irene—the child and woman, whose authority did so much for superstition.¹ A Roman bishop, writing thus about alleged transactions little more than four centuries old, reads an instructive lesson upon tradition. As we can scarcely set him down among deliberate impostors, it must be inferred that a fabulous history of the first Christian emperor's conversion had quietly taken a place among unquestionable facts, before the deuteronicenes began their discreditable sessions. The tale, indeed, must have been then of considerable standing,

¹ Labb. et Coss. vii. 102.

or a pope would not have embodied it in a formal document. Its existence, probably, seemed to some ingenious but unscrupulous creature of the Roman bishop's like a tempting peg, quite strong enough to bear all the particulars of Constantine's amazing gratitude. The very daring flight of this poetic spirit into the regions of romance, is thought by De Marca to have been made in the pontificate of Paul. Pepin was then pressed by an embassy from Constantinople, urgently beseeching him to restore his Italian conquests to the imperial throne. This application was considered in a great council holden at Gentilly in 767, and it is really not unlikely that Constantine's Donation was then brought forward, under cover of a collusion between Paul and Pepin, by way of escaping from Greek importunity.¹ The popes and the early

¹ "Tantum ergo abest, ut ex hoc capite illud edictum proscribendum censeam, quin potius jussu Romanorum pontificum scriptum fuisse pia quadam industria. Anno enim 767 legatis CP. repentibus a Pipino regiones Italiæ quas rex ecclesiæ Romanæ attribuerat, Joannes subdiaconus, et Pamphilus, legati Pauli papæ mentionem injecerunt hæreseos a Græcis fotæ contra traditionem patrum, et de omnibus hujus legationis capitibus cum Græcis coram Pipino disceptarunt; quæ deinde in conventu Gentiliacensi discussa est, ubi orientalium petitio explosa fuit. Verosimile mihi videtur, tunc de consensu Pipini regis excogitatam fuisse Donationem Constantini, qua pertinacia Constantinopolitanorum retunderetur." (*De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp.* ii. 94.) De Marca's annotator Boehmer considers the *pious kind of industry* which produced the Donation to have been Pope Stephen's, and not his predecessor Paul's. The object of it, he thinks, was to impose upon Pepin, whom he represents as a superstitious man, very open to papal deceptions, and actually so deceived before. Fimiani will not allow either the cunning of Stephen, or the simplicity of Pepin, but assigns the Donation to some clumsy Greek forger, towards the close of the eighth century, whose *pious industry* would have thus asserted a patriarchal dignity for the see of Constantinople; a distinction which Rome and all the West denied it until the times of Innocent III. Fimiani makes Æneas of Paris, who wrote about 854, the first author by whom the Donation is mentioned. Subsequently this is done by Hincmar of Rheims and

Carlovingian princes were, undoubtedly, adepts in the art of throwing dust into people's eyes. De Marca thinks the very words put into the mouth of the simulated Constantine to savour of the particular time in which Paul was Roman bishop. His view is, undoubtedly, more probable than any one that represents the Donation as a Greek forgery. Its whole tenour is to detract from the emperor's importance.¹ As for making the Roman see's pre-eminence an imperial grant, that only shows the notion of its divine origin to have been unknown when the forger lived. His forgery does not seem to have been implicitly received at once. Occasionally no notice is taken of it, where the reverse might be expected, as if well-informed friends did not wish to provoke any needless discussion upon the pope's very ample title-deeds.² All such reserve wore away under the progress of time and ignorance. During the long period known as the dark ages, and likely to be called so still, whatever may be done to wash the Ethiop white, Constantine's Donation was an answer to all who

Ado of Vienne. (*Ibid.* 160.) Ado makes Constantine to have given Rome to the apostles Peter and Paul *by will*, and says nothing of the other extraordinary particulars ("Caput vero totius imperii ante, Romanam, beatis apostolis Petro et Paulo sub testamento tradidit"). (*Bibl. PP.* vii. 349.) Thus French authors appear to be the first that mention this famous forgery, which rather confirms De Marca's opinion as to its origin.

¹ *By this edict the rights of the eastern emperors over the provinces of the West are so torn up, that nobody can suppose it to have been hammered out by the Greeks to the manifest destruction of their own princes.* De Marca, ii. 92.

² *Nicholas I. however, Anastasius the librarian, and other ancient writers, have abstained from the mention of this Donation; because, since the privileges of the kings of France were enough for them, they were unwilling to lean on a fictitious edict.* *Ibid.* 98.

would lower the pope. The leprous emperor's munificence might be thought overdone, but it certainly would justify the Roman bishops in looking upon themselves as wronged men, and in endeavouring to exercise such privileges as they could, of the many once legally conveyed to their see. The first blush of clear intellectual light took this dependence from them, and arms which had immemorially been supplied from forgery, were hereafter to be sought from sophistry.

Constantine's name was not the only one which *a pious kind of industry*, to use De Marca's language, pressed into the papal service during the eighth century. The Roman see grew so fast in ecclesiastical pretensions and authority, that it required something more for the satisfaction of scrutinising spirits, than mere title-deeds to temporal dominion. It claimed, likewise, a spiritual jurisdiction upon which questions were certain to arise, if it could produce no sufficient records. The want of them must embolden opponents to brand it as nothing better than a downright usurpation. To ward off danger from such quarters, a body of evidence came forward, which makes all the early Roman bishops to have acted as monarchs of the universal church. It also stamps an air of apostolical antiquity upon hierarchical arrangements, and various features in Romish worship. This compilation, therefore, which is known as *the Decretals*, furnishes the very documents which Rome found indispensable. It purports to be a collection of mandatory epistles, issued by her bishops, beginning with Clement, and ending with Sylvester. It was not the first

compilation of the kind. One had been made by Dionysius Exiguus, in the sixth century. But he unluckily begins with Siricius, that is, with 384, having found no earlier remains.¹ This leaves undone the very work that papal greatness wanted. The friend who undertook to do this work, first attracted notice towards the close of the eighth century. Riculf, bishop of Mentz, passes for his earliest patron. His compilation has been thought sometimes to have been brought from Spain, but its origin rather seems to be French, or German.² Isidore is given as the compiler's name, and some have confounded him with Isidore of Seville. The collection, however, it is clear, could not come from that prelate. It is not only unworthy of him, but also cites authorities which are since his time. Whether it originated with some dishonest and obscure bearer of his name is immaterial. Not so, that an urgent call for evidence was made upon papal partisans in the eighth century, which nothing but forgery like this could

¹ He professes to have collected those *constitutions of the past prelates of the apostolic see, that he could, by care and diligence*: afterwards he talks of *as many precepts of particular pontiffs, as were found by him*. (Labb. et Coss. i. 3.) This language of Dionysius, De Marca reasonably considers as of itself sufficient to overthrow the Decretals. Turrian, who undertook their defence, he says, *would perhaps have given way to the testimony of Dionysius Exiguus, who, when he was collecting the epistles of the old pontiffs, eleven hundred years ago, with the greatest diligence, makes the beginning of his compilation from Siricius*. *De Concord*, ii. 39.

² Hincmar of Rheims declares the Decretals to have obtained a footing in the Frankish territories, through Riculf, bishop of Mentz, who obtained the collection from Spain, and who held the see of Mentz from 787 to 814. The compiler is variously called Isidore *Mercator* and *Peccator*. Du Pin says, "There is great reason to believe, that he was no Spaniard, but rather some German or Frenchman that begun this imposture." *New Eccl. Hist.* i. 174.

answer. When people asked for the Roman bishop's authority to act as monarch of the church, no authority could be produced. There were no records to prove the exercise of any such power during the first three centuries. Exactly where evidence was wanted, none could be found. Enquirers who sought Peter, were stopped at Constantine. They were even made suspicious of recent papal claims by the church's earlier canons. Thus a complete revolution in favour of the papacy appeared hopeless, unless men could be effectually deceived. By the fictitious *Decretals* this was attempted, and very soon the scheme had a great prospect of success. These forgeries readily made so much way, that, by the year 836, the church's earlier discipline was extensively undermined.¹ Hence it will be seen that Nicholas I., who was very eager to supersede it, stood up warmly for the *Decretals*. He would not hear of doubts thrown upon a compilation which had already done so much, and promised so much more for the papacy. But his patronage of these fictitious records did not satisfy every body. The new ecclesiastical system, which was built upon them, establishes many things quite adverse to the old canons.² This fact early aroused suspicions as to

¹ *To the old law, strengthened by the assent of the universal church, a new law succeeded, which from the year 836 began to be published, and by the endeavours of Nicholas I. and other Roman pontiffs, gradually became strong by use through the provinces of the West. That law is comprehended in the collection of Isidore, which is made up of the epistles of Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, and the old pontiffs who preceded the times of Siricius, and of canons as well ancient as Gallic and Spanish. De Marca, ii. 38.*

² *Under the second dynasty of our kings, a new canon law began to be introduced into the Gallic church, and likewise into the other provinces of the West, those supposititious epistles of the old Roman pontiffs being*

the genuineness of Isidore's collections. A critical spirit, however, disapproved at Rome, could not live through the ignorance that rapidly thickened over Europe. Gratian, accordingly, worked up this mass of *pious fraud* into his body of canon law, as did subsequent writers of his class. Another imposition was provided for mediæval canonists in a compilation known as *the Capitulars of Adrian I.* This bends the ecclesiastical jurisprudence of earlier times, by means of interpolation and suppression, into a body of materials for building up papal power. Adrian is represented either to have given this document, which consists of eighty or eighty-two canons, to Ingilram, bishop of Metz, or to have received it from that prelate. But however obscure may be the origin of these canons, their credit rapidly rose so high that they were commonly admitted among the Capitulars of the Frankish kings. They are taken for the most part from the ancient canons, the genuine epistles of Roman bishops, and the Theodosian code. But then these materials are made, whenever it is needful for papal purposes, to speak a language which their original framers never meditated. Rome is unblushingly served by artful additions to the real text, and by expunging from it words of great importance.¹

invented for that purpose, in which are extant a great many constitutions altogether adverse to the enactments of the old canons. De Marca, iii. 376.

¹ *In these Capitulars sometimes something is added to the old canons, and sometimes words of great moment are taken away, just as it seemed conducive to extol the authority of the Roman pontiff.* (De Marca, iii. 377.) These Capitulars are in Labbe and Cossart's *Councils*, vi. 1828. Du Pin says, that there is manuscript authority both for making Ingilram and Adrian the sender of this compilation. "This piece," he

As this imposture is referred to the year 785, it is, probably, anterior to the more notorious compilation by Isidore. That falsifier is thought, indeed, either to be its actual author, or to have made use of it. Be that as it may—the two compilations are very nearly if not absolutely contemporary, and both of them seek to raise the Roman see by practising a shameful cheat upon mankind. If the papacy had really any thing divine about it, aid so infamous as this would neither have been required nor endured.

Such were, however, the records to which papal canonists confidently turned during seven hundred years. They fell before the searching eye of the Centuriators. Those learned reformers brought forward irresistible evidence to prove that Europe, in trusting the *Decretals*, had been scandalously deceived.¹ But so calculated are these notorious forgeries, if they could only be believed, for serving the Romish cause, that Binius, Turrian, and some others, with a valour worthy of Don Quixote, undertook their defence. Bellarmine and Baronius knew better, though evidently unable to give them up without a pang. The former cardinal would not dare to *main-*

adds, "was forged when the false *Decretals* were made, and perhaps by the same author." *New Eccl. Hist.* vi. 115.

¹ This decisive blow to the main body of papal title deeds is given in the third of the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, ch. vii. p. 177. It exposes the imposture in every important particular, and quite conclusively. The following passage from it expresses in a few words the chief ends of these impudent experiments upon the ignorance of mankind. *They scarcely treat of any thing else than the primacy of the Roman Church, the form of judgments, the not accusing and despoiling bishops, the quality of witnesses, the restitution of despoiled bishops, appeals to the apostolic see, ceremonies and decrees instituted by the Romans.*

tain them as indubitable. The latter pronounces them *suspicious from many circumstances.*¹ Their falsity was afterwards proved by Blondel very much in detail, and no one has any longer a word for these alleged remains of primitive antiquity. This is all very well; but society has more to ask of the Roman church than a mere disclaimer, by some of her principal divines, of evidence that has utterly broken down. She has evidently no right to maintain a system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, which superseded an older one by the help of forgery. Some of her usages too were helped in the same way to the veneration of mankind. When she came to know these facts, it was her duty to lower her pretensions, and re-model her usages. If she would really serve mankind, she must build upon Scripture, not upon romance. She never can powerfully dispense Christian truth, while she admits a fraud, but clings to the profit which it has gained her. The Gospel came from one who knew no guile, had no selfish end. Its aim is to cure men of guile and selfish ends. The Decretals undoubtedly are not, like Constantine's Donation, wholly false. They are full of patches from fathers, councils, imperial ordinances, and other authentic sources. They are, therefore, like the Pontifical Book, which is itself one of their sources, a sort of romance founded upon facts. But in romantic productions the staple is fiction; and such truth as there may be, is bent and coloured any way to serve the writer's purpose. The Decretals, consequently,

¹ De Marca, ii. 39.

are no more worthy of reliance than if, like the letters in Richardson's once famous novels, they were completely the creations of some one individual's brain. The Englishman, however, concocted letters to amuse, the decretalist to cheat mankind into the endurance of an ecclesiastical monarchy; and accordingly Nicholas I., when very busy in erecting one, eagerly sought help from these forgeries. The French bishops considered it suspicious that they were not to be found in the code of canons. *No more, says Nicholas, are the Old and New Testaments.*¹

As men readily believe what makes for their pride, interests, and prejudices, it is probable that Nicholas did not talk this nonsense to cover impositions of little or no greater age than his own, without being himself deluded. The same excuse may be made for other popes, although they will still remain liable to blame for crediting things of a startling nature, without such an enquiry as society had a right to expect from persons of their station and opportunities. Leo IX., we have already seen, could plead Constantine's Donation as a proof that he did not put forth lofty pretensions upon fabulous grounds. Gregory VII., fancied himself justified in absolving subjects from their allegiance, by the conduct of a predecessor in Pepin's case.² Innocent III. was not likely to be better informed as to the real truth, upon many

¹ "Sed quare multum immoremur, cum nec ipsas divinas Scripturas Novi et Veteris Testamenti jam recipimus, si ipsos duxerimus audientes? Etenim neutrum horum in codice ecclesiasticorum canonum habetur insertum." Labb. et Coss. viii. 799.

² Launoy says, that Gregory was deceived by those who furnished him with false monuments. *Epist.* 647.

points which fired *his* ambitious brain. Undoubtedly these ecclesiastics were desperately smitten by vanity and lust of power, but they were emboldened by imaginary precedents, and felt an obligation to maintain privileges which really were mere creations of human folly, roguery, and ignorance. They were tempted onwards by forgeries and inaccuracies, warmly seconded from self-love within and flattery without. The individuals, therefore, were not so culpable as they have been represented by opponents. But a half excuse for them is none at all for the system that they so much contributed to rear. This may, unquestionably, be fairly considered as the natural growth of ignorant and barbarous times, in which delusion is always ready to wait upon imposture. Had Rome, therefore, seriously set her mind upon the truth, when Valla first exposed Constantine's Donation, her long career of encroachment, error, and absurdity must have been esteemed rather infelicity than fault. Her claim to indulgence was forfeited by an obstinate adherence to principles and practices, which had been convicted of standing upon suspicious or fraudulent grounds. That various excuses have since been found for these things of a more producible kind, is nothing to the purpose. They won their way by means that are quite alien to the genius of Christianity. Hence it is reasonable to view them as essentially from a different mould. By staking its credit upon them, the papacy stands forth as an institution which ignorance nurtured under the guidance of imposture. Nothing can promise worse for spreading sound scriptural knowledge over

the face of society; that is, for wielding the only instrument which can regenerate mankind.

The unsuitableness of papal institutions for any such noble purpose is shown farther and conclusively by their actual operation upon society. When objectors animadvert upon the Latin system, they are thrown back upon the Council of Trent. A Romanist has no concern, they are told, with any thing which that body has not sanctioned. But is the papacy concerned with nothing else? The Roman bishop professes to be the successor of St. Peter; and claims, in consequence, the very highest spiritual character communicable to a mere man. By his communion generally this claim is admitted, and he forms the centre of a very large religious body. This is very far from being an aggregate of persons confined within the limits traced at Trent. It exhibits on the contrary, at every turn, the very features that would naturally stamp the offspring of the *Decretals*, and other such devices to delude mankind. Ecclesiastical magnificence is every where in contact with petty frippery and ridiculous deception. Thus the whole system has a base alloy of human littleness and corruption. It shows nothing of the strict integrity and bright intelligence that are fitted for mounting to the skies. Its energies are those to glare and grovel on the ground. Nor does the Latin church betray an earthly character in its obscurer portions only. The pope himself is implicated in the systematic stultification of mankind. St. John's Lateran, the cathedral of Rome, contains a staircase which passes for Pilate's, one therefore trodden by our Saviour, up which be-

trayed fanatics crawl on their hands and knees. Loretto, in the papal territories, contains a house, once inhabited, people are told, by the holy family, and which was borne on angels' wings from Nazareth into Dalmatia, and thence, in 1294, to its present resting-place. Its flights are called *prodigious*, in the guide-books—a term that will do equally well for either jest or earnest. Mr. Eustace says, “many men of reflection in Italy, and indeed within the precincts of Loretto itself, consider this wonderful story as an idle tale, or at best a pious dream, conceived by a heated imagination, and circulated among an ignorant race of peasants and fishermen. They suppose the holy house to have been a cottage, or building, long buried in a pathless forest, and unnoticed in a country turned almost into a desert by a succession of civil wars, invasions, and revolutions during the space of ten or twelve centuries. A dream, an accidental coincidence of circumstances, might have led one or more persons to the discovery of this long-forgotten edifice; and such an incident, working on minds heated by solitude and enthusiasm, might easily have produced conviction, and propagated the belief of the wonderful tale.”¹ But what matters the belief of Mr. Eustace, or that of any other private Romanist, so long as the pope believes, or acts as if he believed, a very different sort of thing? What can be more disingenuous and idle than to seek an escape from the infamy of such things by pleading their want of Trentine authority? Is the pope's authority to go

¹ Brockedon's *Italy*.

for nothing in a most flagrant case under his own eye, and within his own dominions? His morality, besides, is compromised by this ridiculous and impudent imposture. Men are often, undoubtedly, pushed by arts and accidents to a height which their solid qualities never could have reached. Still a cast of mind sufficiently asinine for the Loretto prodigy, must have been rather unusual among popes. Many of them, therefore, must either have been grossly wanting in integrity, or their situation binds them down to the infliction of such serious evils on mankind as affords no prospect of a truly conscientious pope.

The church besides, which owns them for its head, shows beyond the range of their temporal authority, the same shameless front. It is no longer ago than 1844, that all intellectual Europe heard amazed of a million persons, or more, pouring into Treves to worship before our Saviour's coat without seam. Yet every man of information knows that Argenteuil boasted of another such coat. If any relic fetched, in fact, an extraordinary price during the Crusades, at least a second would certainly be found for their stupid customers by the oriental dealers. Cologne pretends to show the remains of those Magian travellers who were guided by a star to our Lord's birth-place. Three is the number given to them; their quality, of course, is royal (human infirmity, wherever it is rampant, running upon crowns); each has his name; and one of them, called Balthazar, is regularly figured by painters as a hand-

some black.¹ Men may laugh at such things, and visits to that gorgeous warehouse of superstitious toys, the vast but unfinished cathedral of Cologne, are sometimes made amidst shouts of laughter. But what excuse can be made for a system, professedly religious, which meets the weak with shows of piety, that every strong understanding sees to be the broadest farce? Even in Paris, church dignitaries are found who profess to bring forward, on grand solemnities, for popular veneration, our Saviour's crown of thorns, some of the nails used at his crucifixion, and a fragment of his cross. These things are treasured up at *Nôtre Dame*, and notices of their exposition, to be seen there, speak of their long concealment in revolutionary times. An intelligent and lively nation,

¹ The other two of these personages are called respectively Caspar and Melchior. Their alleged remains are in a most gorgeous reliquary, which occupies a small chapel at the east end of the cathedral. The following lines inscribed upon it vouch for the completeness of the skeletons.

“Corpora sanctorum requiescunt hic terna Magorum ;
Quorum nihil est ablatum, aut alibi usquam locatum.”

*Here the three holy wise men's bodies rest ;
Of which a thing has not been ta'en away,
Or put in any other place.*

Ridiculous as the claim is to the possession of these remains, it has been implicitly believed by great numbers of wealthy people. The small chapel, accordingly, which contains the reliquary, is a perfect blaze of gilding and precious stones, or of objects that pass for precious stones, and occupy places which real ones originally filled. Poor and ignorant Romish devotees cannot fail of being debased and stultified, when they see such specimens of elevated Romish life. This degrading exhibition also is furnished by the cathedral of a great ecclesiastical elector ; of a Christian minister, that is, whose professional services were requited by an important principedom. What could be the real value of such services, or rather, what sort of a reflection from scriptural truth could come from a system, which was served in its highest places by officers deeply implicated in the misleading of inferior intellects and humble stations ?

that is liable to see in the cathedral of its capital a document like this, might well produce Voltaire. But how deeply responsible were the leading ecclesiastics of his day for tempting that witty infidel to confound palpable impositions with holy truths! And who can excuse the successors of these men from the censure passed by Buonaparte upon their weak but well-meaning patrons, the elder Bourbons, *They have learnt nothing, forgotten nothing?* Had not Romish dignitaries emerged from the hurricane, raised by revolutionary France, untaught, and evidently unteachable, the most ridiculous and shameful of a former generation's experiments upon popular credulity would have wholly disappeared. Wonder-working images and relics vanished wherever French republicanism prevailed. How incredible, but guilty, was the folly which obtruded them again upon mankind! Most of the spots, however, made infamous by them before, are thronged anew by victims of a debasing superstition. Intelligent Romanists often make a joke of these lamentable spectacles, but it is their duty to learn from them the necessity of repudiating a system which ages have seen incorrigibly bent upon finding a prey and a mocking-stock in the more defenceless portions of society.

This profligate betrayal of ignorance and intellectual weakness cannot be defended by bringing forward Protestant vagaries. Has any body known English cathedrals used for the worship of Shakers and Jumpers? Who ever saw a gilt cradle for Shiloh in Westminster Abbey, and heard from the showman, "This was provided when Joanna Southcott considered

herself pregnant with the Deliverer; but although she proved mistaken, many pious people thought her raised up to prepare the world for his approach, and a fitting cradle is kept here ready for him?" Is the morning-prayer chapel, in St. Paul's, likely to be given up, in after parts of the day, to professors of the unknown tongue? When such questions can be affirmatively answered, it will be time enough to seek in Protestant excesses for a set-off against Romish. These latter are not confined to obscure chapels and unauthorised ministers. They have direct support from the pope himself, and all the Romish hierarchy. They are the most conspicuous features in the Latin system, and are intimately blended with its working upon the great mass of men. It is a mere subterfuge to say, as Romanists habitually do, these absurdities are not *de foi*, or *de fide*; no member of our church is called upon to believe them. Not a word was pronounced in their favour by the Council of Trent. But weak and vulgar minds must be indulged in fancies of this kind. It is, however, the business of religion to seek means for curing, not for humouring, mental obliquities and infirmities. A scriptural faith is equal to this duty, as appears from the sober sense of all the more considerable Protestant bodies. Undoubtedly such a faith has proved unfavourable to a slavish uniformity of opinion. But papal institutions have not succeeded in keeping all men exactly of one mind. Nor even if they had, would one unvarying face given to the religious world be any compensation for ineradicable tendencies towards imposture and stupidity.

CHAPTER IX.

PAPAL APPEALS.

Current accounts of appeals to Rome uncertain. — Rome's early religious importance of a civil nature. — The best information to be found there. — Strict observance of the canons attributed to her. — The Roman bishops considered as the exponent of general consent. — The Easter question decided by general consent. — Difficulties in Romish reasons about St. Peter's choice of Rome. — Papal power first formally recognised by the second Council of Nice. — Favoured by an alteration in the Breviary. — Assumptions involved in it.

ADVOCATES of the Latin system commonly build much upon early appeals to the Roman bishop. They would make them evidences of that prelate's religious monarchy. But, clearly, they were not so considered in ancient times. If they had been, Rome would have spurned help from the Decretals. Her bishops might have maintained a position quite sufficient for the average degree of human pride, without leaning upon forgeries. Roman sagacity would not have slumbered, or been dissembled, as it must in the eighth and ninth centuries, if the papal see had been immemorially possessed of that appellate jurisdiction which later times have claimed for it. This was evidently the object of its ambition, and not actually within its grasp, when romancers thought, and rightly too, that they might render it a grateful service. The advantage, therefore, that was

taken, during so many centuries, of their dishonest ingenuity, amounts to a proof that ancient appeals to Rome differed importantly from those of periods comparatively modern. The Roman see is, however, the centre of so many interests and prejudices, that general inferences in disparagement of its claims will not satisfy a large proportion of mankind. If its friends are pressed with arguments drawn from the forgeries which it so long treated as authentic records, they bring forward indisputable instances of ancient references to it. Hence they argue that falsifiers rendered it a service equally disreputable and unnecessary. The truth in this case cannot be ascertained without going into many particulars. For such an inquiry excellent guides are to be found among Romanists themselves. Divines of the Gallican school have drawn a broad line of distinction between the church and the court of Rome. The former they have treated as a divine institution, the latter as formed by human means, and often abused for purposes merely human. Among these purposes, nothing is more unequivocal than the use made of Rome in the eighth century. The Anglo-Saxon Offa could invoke and receive its aid for avenging himself upon a prelate in a rival state. The Frankish mayors of the palace could successfully seek its authority for rendering their own ambition palatable to their countrymen. The power of gaining selfish politicians by such services has been construed by papal advocates as evidence of the Roman see's divinely constituted privileges. But research will give a different explanation of the matter. Undoubtedly, papal Rome's

importance originated in the accident of position. The mighty head of all the Roman world necessarily commanded attention from every Christian body within the empire.¹ Nor, when the lustre of Rome was paled by that of Constantinople, could western regions readily give up recourse under difficulties to the ancient capital. The new seat of imperial greatness was inconveniently distant from them, and facilities for ecclesiastical reference were not affected by the removal of a court. When also a Gothic empire arose, it was unprovided with means of solving learned questions. Almain accounted for the Frankish application to Rome, when Childeric's deposition was in hand, by the want of any domestic authority fit for debating matters of so much delicacy. *There was no university of Paris, he says, in those days, and consequently few learned men were in France. Hence the pope was called upon for an opinion.*² This language, undoubtedly, comes from a controversialist. Almain was engaged in defending Lewis XII. from Julius II. But Luther's trumpet had not yet sounded against

¹ The Council of Aquileia speaks of the Roman Church as head of the whole Roman world. De Marca, i. 17.

² "Almain, sous le règne de Louis XII. disoit au sujet de cette même affaire, qu'on eut recours au pape, parce qu'alors l'université de Paris n'étoit pas encore établie: et qu'il y avoit par conséquent peu de personnes doctes en France. Ces docteurs étoient donc bien loin éloignés de croire que la pape fût en droit de déposer un roi de France." Bossuet. *Défense de la Déclaration du Clergé de France de 1682*, Amst. 1745.) This learned exposure of the court of Rome and its partizans was written in Latin, and not published until 1730. The author died in 1704. To the French translation of it, which has been used for the present work, some notes are appended. It has been honoured with a place in the Roman Index of prohibited books, rather a remarkable fate for the product of a pen to which Romanists owe those favourite works, the *Exposition* and the *Variations*.

papal Rome. Almain's view is, therefore, that of a Romish scholar explaining history by the light of common sense. The long continuance of intellectual darkness in western Europe naturally kept Rome in possession of her established claims to deference as an ecclesiastical and a religious authority. Neither the Gothic nor the dismembered Latin race made sufficient provision, during many ages, for superseding the demands upon Roman scholarship. Thus reference to the long established centre of information, under emergencies, could not be dispensed with, although the city itself had sunk down to second-rate importance.

But Rome did not only exceed every other city in the possession of appliances for answering learned questions. Her fame stood also very high for observance of the canons. Her see had commonly taken a prominent part, when any new canonical provision was under consideration, and it afterwards became a model of obedience to the provincial churches. Hence they looked up to it as an example which might always be safely followed. From distance, however, and imperfect communication, they would often be at a loss to know what her usage was without especial reference. When thus informed, a distant church acted without hesitation, feeling sure that it was treading in the steps which mounted up to early times. Even Nicholas I., whom eagerness to extend his authority tempted into a very early approbation of the *Decretals*, declared *the church of Rome to have never taken a single step which is not strictly warranted by the holy fathers*. By their ordi-

nances he professed himself to be absolutely bound.¹ In the same strain Zozimus denies that his *see* had any authority to violate the statutes of the holy fathers; and Leo I. brands every violation of the kind as a complete nullity.² Early episcopal promises of obedience to the Roman see proceeded upon this ground. Bishops only engaged to obey *according to the holy canons, and saving their rights*. Anciently a like engagement was taken by the pope himself.³ Thus the Roman bishop's appellate privileges rested upon the general recognition of him as the exponent of established canons. He was no more the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, than an English judge is the maker of acts of parliament. Remote religious bodies considered him as their pattern, not their master, and as surrounded by such excellent advice, that when any canonical difficulty arose, it could be dealt with satisfactorily by means of a reference to him.

His expositions of the church's law received attention, because that law derived its authority from general consent. It was not received upon the nar-

¹ "*Il faut donc, ajoute-t-il, observer les ordonnances de nos pères, contenues dans les saints canons. Et dans une autre lettre écrite sur le même sujet, l'église Romaine ne fait jamais aucuns démarches qu'elle ne suive pas à pas ce qui a été ordonné par les saints Pères. Je remplirois des volumes entiers, si je voulois rapporter tout ce que les papes ont dit en faveur de cette vérité.*" Bossuet, iii. 186.

² "Ainsi le décide le saint pape Zozime par ces paroles, rapportées plus haut, ce siège même n'a pas l'autorité de violer les statuts des saints Pères, en changeant, ou en transportant à d'autres un privilège. Ce qui est contraire à la disposition des canons (de Nicée), dit le grand saint Léon, n'a aucune sorte d'autorité. Et tout ce qui s'écarte des canons de ces Pères, dit il dans une autre lettre, est nul de toute nullité." Ibid. 201.

³ Ibid. 256.

row ground of Roman approbation, but because it claimed a sanction from the whole Christian body. Distant churches might often find occasion for doubts upon this matter. They were possessed, probably, of the more important records; but upon adjudications that had arisen out of them, and had been sanctioned by general acquiescence, they might have very insufficient means of information. Rome herself did not possess, during Anglo-Saxon times, any libraries approaching those which printing has planted all over Europe. Distant and semi-barbarous nations were, of course, much more scantily supplied with scholarly appliances. Hence frequently arose occasions for seeking information from its head-quarters in the ancient capital. There could be learnt what all Christendom had received. That papal authority alone was deemed insufficient, appears conclusively from an authentic act of the Spanish church in the year 684. The acts of the third Council of Constantinople, known as the Sixth General, having been published under the pontificate of Agatho, and confirmed by Leo II., were transmitted into Spain; but the prelacy of that country would not receive them without a due examination. This was formally given to them in the fourteenth Council of Toledo, and they were then accepted, not because approved by the pope, but because they were found conformable to other general councils.¹ More strikingly still was the

¹ " Les évêques d'Espagne ne s'étoient point trouvés au VI. concile, et même n'y avoient pas été convoqués. Les actes de ce concile publiés sous le pontificat d'Agathon, et confirmés par Léon II., leur ayant été présentés, ils les approuvèrent; mais ils voulurent auparavant les remettre à l'examen synodal des conciles d'Espagne, et faire usage

principle recognised of resting religious decisions upon general consent, after the second Council of Nice. It was an assembly patronised and approved by the Roman bishop: he transmitted its determinations into Gaul¹: but Gaul would not receive them. Her pre-lacy had taken no part in the deliberations, her theological views were outraged by the general tenour of the proceedings, and she would not abandon her divinity from reverence for the papal see. Yet we hear nothing of any breach that she made in Catholic unity, of any obligation to admit a pope's authority, even backed by an important council. It was no general council; no assembly, like that which sate before at Nice, and spoke the sense there of entire Christendom. It was an oriental body to which transalpine Christians had not addressed a word. Upon the decisions of such a convocation, the Roman see was evidently thought unable to stamp a binding character. Popes only could speak authoritatively as exponents of the general consent. No such recommendation could be claimed by the deutero-

de leur autorité de juges: ils voulurent, dis-je, examiner et discuter jusqu'à deux fois les actes synodaux de C. P. *Nous avons, disent ces pères, approuvés les dits actes pour la seconde fois, parce que tout bien examiné, ils nous ont paru conformes à la foi des conciles de C. P. et d'Ephese, et conçus dans des termes ou semblables, ou équivalens à ceux du concile de Calédoine.* Ainsi c'est en conséquence de leur examen qu'ils ajoutent au VI. concile, auquel ils n'avoient point eu de part, l'autorité de leur consentement qui lui manquoit; et qu'ils donnent rang à ce concile parmi les autres conciles œcuméniques. Les Espagnols pensoient donc alors, comme toutes les autres nations chrétiennes, que les décisions de foi approuvées par les pontifes Romains, n'avoient force de loi qu'autant que le consentement des églises étoit intervenu." Bos-suet, i. 72. Labb. et Coss. vi. 1281.

¹ This appears from a passage in Hincmar of Rheims, quoted by the Centuriators of Magdeburg, 881.

Nicenes, and, accordingly, papal approbation of their decrees was set at nought beyond the Alps. Nor was this rejection of the Roman bishop's approval a hasty determination that cooler thought soon rescinded. On the contrary, the Franks long and formally continued in their opposition to the image-worshippers. Vainly did Pope Adrian send a studied answer to the *Caroline Books*. His defence of the deutero-Nicenes was treated merely as an affair of his own. Charlemain and the Frankish clergy were not convinced by his arguments any more than they would have been by those of some private controversialist. They knew nothing of him when he descended from his legitimate ground as an exponent of the general consent, than as a mere diplomatist and author. Yet Adrian did not call them heretics or schismatics, although the case involved an important point in theology. The western divines considered all religious honours paid to substances and similitudes as forbidden by the Decalogue.¹ Of course,

¹ "On publia singulièrement contre le concile de Nicée les livres appellés Carolins, du nom de l'empereur Charlemagne. Le pape Adrien fit une réponse à ces livres, dans laquelle il soutint fortement les décisions de Nicée; ce qui n'empêcha pas l'empereur, et les François de persister dans leurs sentiment. Or le pape ne les traitoit d'hérétiques, ni de schismatiques, quoiqu'ils ne s'accordassent pas avec le reste de l'église sur un point très important, puisque dans cette dispute il s'agissoit de l'interprétation des préceptes de la première table du Décalogue." (Bossuet, ii. 418.) Sirmond, whom Bossuet cites just before, also places the Frankish rejection of the deutero-Nicenes upon the ground that no general council had authorised their principles; only an assembly of the Greeks. He very truly remarks that this is the line of argument taken up in the *Caroline Books*. But he does not mention an important corollary from those books, namely, that papal authority was disregarded unless it rested upon general consent. Undoubtedly, nothing of the sort is expressly said, it being the object of Charlemain, with his friends and divines, to treat the Roman see with profound

the pope and his party thought otherwise, or at all events were willing that people generally should think otherwise. That the Romish hierarchy has either altered its opinion, or feels pretty sure that most other people would alter theirs, if they knew the whole truth, is plainly shown by such Decalogues as Romanists are trusted with. But that may pass as an episodical remark. The present purpose only calls us to observe, that papal authority was deemed insufficient in the eighth and ninth centuries, unless it could solidly appeal to common consent. Its power over the image question seems never to have been formally conceded. Transalpine Europe gradually fell into the stupidities, and worse than stupidities, that made churches like pagodas; not because the pope must be obeyed, but, according to Bossuet, *as matters were cleared up*¹; some people would rather say, *as darkness thickened*. Something like a general consent was thus eventually brought about. It was

respect. But their conduct shows that no such powers as have been claimed for it in subsequent ages were attributed to it in the ninth century.

Bossuet, it should also be observed, places the objections to image-worship upon the true ground, namely, theological. His powerful mind could not stoop to mention the trifling motives assigned by superstition, to the iconoclastic emperors of Constantinople. His position as a Romish prelate restrained him from assigning iconoclastic movement, in so many words, to a due reverence for the second commandment. He therefore cautiously says, *in this dispute the question turned upon the interpretation of the precepts of the first table of the Decalogue*.

¹ "Mais il ne fut (the deutero-Nicene Council,) reçu en France que peu à peu, et à mesure que les matières s'éclaircirent, et que les églises donnèrent leur consentement. Concluons, que les François étoient pleinement convaincus, et que les papes mêmes reconnoissoient alors cette doctrine, qui est puisée dans l'antiquité: que la décision péremptoire des questions de foi, dépend du commun consentement de l'église catholique." Bossuet, ii. 419.

not, however, complete; for Europe always contained Christians, ordinarily branded as heretics, who dissented from the unscriptural principles and practices of papal Rome. Nor had it the formal character of common consent, being no scriptural principle technically embodied by some general council, and afterwards universally received. Of this common consent, the first four general councils furnish a complete example, and hence Gregory the Great placed them upon a level with the four Gospels.¹

It was not until the Easter question had been decided by the first of these four councils, that Christendom became united upon it. The Roman church had come to a decision upon it long before, and in a satisfactory manner. Victor, the pope, having obtained, we read sometimes, the attendance of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, whose see stood next in importance to his own, and of a council of bishops and presbyters, promulged a decree for the uniform keeping of Easter.² Thus was the determination made in a regular manner, it rested upon proper grounds, and it was also confirmed by provincial councils.³ It ran, however, counter to the

¹ "Saint Grégoire le Grand s'exprime avec la même clarté, lorsqu'il compare les quatre premiers conciles généraux aux quatre évangiles. Car, ajoute-t-il, les décisions de ces conciles étant fondées sur le consentement universel, c'est se briser soi-même sans leur nuire, que d'entreprendre de lier ceux qu'ils délient, ou de délier ceux qu'ils lient." *Ibid.* 422.

² The *Pontifical Book* says of this transaction, that a congregation was made, after Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, had been sent for. (Labb. et Coss. i. 591.) But Baronius makes him bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine. It may, at least, be concluded from this account, that Victor did not proceed without respectable prelatial support.

³ In Palestine, Pontus, Gaul, Osrhoene, and at Corinth. Eusebius, v. 23.

prejudices and practice of the Christians in Asia Minor, and they refused synodically to be bound by it.¹ Victor was violently angry, and began to talk of excommunicating. Cooler heads than his own restrained him from such a length as this, but he actually went so far as to pronounce them cut off from the unity of the church. His intemperance, however, was disregarded. He was no exponent of a general consent, although he really could plead reason, good advice, and provincial synods concurring with his own council, for the arrangement which he wished to carry through. Scripture said nothing upon the question, and no right was recognised in separate churches, although two of them might be those of Rome and Alexandria, the greatest in Christendom, to claim obedience from all other Christian bodies. Asia Minor, therefore, continued in its old practice, without any charge of heresy or schism, until the first Council of Nice enacted the Roman arrangement.² This thus received the seal of general consent, and accordingly now became law

¹ Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, was chief of the Minor-Asian prelacy, and to him Victor communicated the decision of the Roman synod. It appears from Eusebius, that Polycrates convened his brethren, and the Roman arrangement was rejected. Thus although synodical authority was generally favourable to Victor's arrangement, it was, after all, merely approved by certain churches, not by the whole church. There were no means, apparently, of convening a representative assembly from the whole church before the reign of Constantine, and Christians would not bind themselves by the judgments of detached bodies, although several of them might agree, and one of them might be the respected and powerful church of the metropolis.

² "Il est également certain que Polycrate, et les autres évêques d'Asie persistèrent dans leur sentiment; ce qui n'empêcha pas l'église de les regarder comme des saints: car les Quartodécimans ne furent mis au nombre des hérétiques qu'après le concile oecuménique de Nicée eut décidé la question." Bossuet, iii. 46.

to the church. It was not papal authority, therefore, that ultimately prevailed, but a decision of the whole Christian body regularly agreed upon by its representatives.

Those who would find an autocrat in the Roman bishop either take no notice of these historical details, or pass lightly over them. They lay their chief stress upon St. Peter's divinely granted privilege to bind and loose, take it literally, and assume its descent upon the papal see. But antiquity no more favours the divinity of these reasoners, than history favours their facts. It has been already shown that St. Peter's faith, not his person, was generally considered in ancient times as the rock on which the church was to be built. In like manner, early theology did not confine the privilege of binding and loosing to St. Peter. Careful readers of Scripture could not overlook, that although our Lord used the singular in his metaphor of the keys¹, upon another occasion he used the plural, in that of binding and loosing.² Hence it is clear, that by the latter he meant some privilege common to all the apostles. The fathers found such a privilege in penitential discipline, and in the sacraments.³ It is

¹ *St. Matt.* xvi. 19.

² *Ibid.* xviii. 18. *St. John*, xx. 22.

³ "Les pères de l'église ont si constamment expliqué ces passages de l'Evangile de la puissance spirituelle, qui regarde les censures, l'administration des sacrements, et principalement celui de pénitence, qu'il est étrange qu'on se serve encore de ces paroles sacrées, pour prouver une chose qu'elles ne signifient point du tout." (Bossuet, i. 21.) The thing which these words are cited to prove, and which the most famous of all the bishops of Meaux here says they do not prove at all, is the power over princes claimed for popes. It is plain that the Fathers have rightly extended these words to all the apostles, and to such as exercise a ministry derived from them. It is also plain that our Lord's words are capable of a much wider signification than that which Bos-

by withholding or dispensing Christian ministrations, that men ordinarily are either detained in sin, or delivered from it. But it was not one apostle that withheld or dispensed; it was all the apostles. In like manner it is not the chief minister only of the church, founded, as it seems, by the united labours of Peter and Paul, that continues to withhold or dispense; it is the whole Christian ministry. The unity of the church, therefore, consists in the faithful dispensing of those censures, and administration of those sacraments, it may be added, in the faithful teaching also of those doctrines, which have been handed down from the whole body of the apostles; not in subjection to a prelate who passes for the successor of one among them.

To establish the claims of this alleged successor on plausible grounds, papal advocates have been much embarrassed. Bellarmine would have us believe that St. Peter fixed his see at Rome by command of Christ himself, and hence he infers that the ancient capital was divinely marked out as the mistress of Christendom. But when he comes to the proof of his fact, he can find nothing better than a forged epistle of Pope Marcellus, and a statement in Ambrose and Athanasius, that Peter underwent martyrdom at Rome by our Lord's command.¹ Thus nothing far-

suet gives them from the Fathers. St. Peter unlocked the gates of heaven on the great day of Pentecost, to those three thousand souls who were converted by his preaching. In the same way he and others unlocked it afterwards. Nor have the ministers of religion ceased from thus admitting men to the present hour.

¹ "Et quoniam sanctus Marcellus papa in epistola ad Antiochenos scribit, Petrum Domino jubente venisse Romam; et sanctus Ambrosius in oratione contra Auxentium, et Athanasius in apologia pro fugâ suâ,

ther is proved, than that such a notion as that on which the cardinal builds his inference was current when these two fathers wrote. If this notion really were founded in truth, we could scarcely fail of finding the Roman see much more powerful during the first three centuries than authentic history makes it.¹ The foundations of its power seem, however, to have been really laid under Constantine; and, even in that emperor's time, the great Council of Nice was rather directed by the Bishop of Alexandria than by him of Rome.²

It was really not until the second Council of Nice that papal power obtained a firm footing. Then Irene, the superstitious and cruel empress, being

dicunt, Petrum Christi jussu Romæ martyrium pertulisse: non est improbabile, Dominum etiam aperte jussisse, ut sedem suam Petrus ita figeret Romæ, ut Romanus episcopus absolute ei succederet." *Controv.* i. 243.

¹ In short, it is ingenuously confessed by Pope Pius II., then cardinal, that, before the time of the Nicene Council, very little regard was had to the Church of Rome." (Cave, *Dissert. conc. the Gov. of the Ancient Church*, p. 44.) For Piccolomini's *ingenuous confession* the margin cites his 282d epistle, p. 802.

² "La lettre synodique du concile de Nicée à l'église d'Alexandrie marque qu'Alexandre, évêque de cette église, avoit eu la principale part à ce qui s'étoit fait en cette célèbre assemblée, sans parler d'aucun autre. La siège d'Alexandrie avoit le premier rang après celui de Rome, comme il paroît par le sixième canon de ce premier concile général. Alexandre avoit assisté au concile, et non pas l'évêque de Rome, et quelque chose qu'on dise de ses légats, l'évêque d'Alexandrie, présent en personne, est plus considéré que l'évêque de Rome, présent seulement par ses députés: il est regardé comme la premier des pères en cette sainte assemblée." (*Rapport à l'Assemblée générale du Clergé de France*. Bossuet, i. 50.) The annotator on Bossuet's book (ii. 360.) considers this *Report*, which was drawn up by Praslin, bishop of Tournay, scarcely justified in assigning so high a rank to Alexander at the Council of Nice. But the synodical letter of the council to the church of Alexandria, though using words rather ambiguous, as the annotator says, really makes the Alexandrian bishop overshadow the Roman. Labb. et Coss. ii. 251.

bent upon the restoration of image-worship, was eager for a close connection with its chief ecclesiastical patron, the Roman bishop. When she first moved in favour of images, her own principal ecclesiastic, Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, was averse, and so were many other persons of distinction. Paul resigned, voluntarily, it was alleged, but a successor was not appointed until his death, when Tarasius, a layman of quality, then imperial secretary, was chosen to fill the vacant see. Even after these provisions, Irene's project was in danger of defeat. Support of images from Rome, and exertions in their favour at Constantinople by a courtly layman, suddenly transmuted into a patriarch, could not stifle those objections to them which Greek and Asiatic intelligence entertained. Constantinople was to have been the scene of their triumph. But when a council for this purpose was in preparation there, some of the officers of state held private meetings to keep religion in its actual state of conformity with Scripture. Their conduct was treated as a canonical offence, no sanction for it having first been gained from the diocesan. These officials were, accordingly, dismissed. The garrison of Constantinople was however found, when the council met in August, 786, to share their views. The image-worshippers, accordingly, saw no prospect of success until they had gained over some of the troops stationed in the country. Then they set reports afloat of Mahometan incursions, and upon the strength of them sent the uncompliant soldiery away. Another garrison being now marched into the town, the former one was disbanded, and with a facility that seems to

have occasioned some surprise.¹ By such difficulties, the council was prevented from sitting before the autumn of 787, when it met at Nice, in Bithynia. Tarasius took the lead in its proceedings, but he was quite willing to cover his own incapacity, and the enormous follies that were gravely brought forward, under cover of the Roman bishop's authority. That prelate had two legates at the council, and he was gratified by a synodical declaration, that councils could not be canonically called without his authority.² This principle was laid down with a view to condemn the Council of Constantinople, which, more than thirty years before, had abolished image-worship in the Grecian empire.³ It was, however, a most important concession to the see of Rome. If popes were amenable only to a council, and no one unsanctioned by themselves was lawful, their way to empire was clear enough.

Still there were difficulties to overcome. Popes had gained, it is true, a most important step in the East, because women and monks there were so wild for images, that any thing could be admitted to favour them rather than a plain inference from the Decalogue to condemn them. But in transalpine Europe this fascination was unknown. People there thought the Roman bishop to have forgotten himself,

¹ Anastasius says, *Irene sending to them, signifies to them saying, Send me your arms, for I have no occasion for you. But they, being divinely made fools, gave them up.* *Hist. Trip.* 161.

² The Council of Constantinople that condemned images *had not*, say the deuterio-Nicenes, *as a fellow-worker, the then pope of the Romans, or the priests about him, or any to represent him, or any circular from him, as the law is for synods.*

³ De Marca, ii. 443. Du Pin. vi. 138.

when he countenanced Irene, Tarasius, and Italian semi-paganism, instead of taking instruction from the Bible. Hence deutero-Nicene canon-law might have been treated in the West as no better than deutero-Nicene divinity. A seasonable protection for them both was provided in the forged Decretals; and in process of time even the Breviary was prevented from continuing the whisper against papal ambition which antiquity had communicated. The Roman church had originally taught in her public prayers that St. Peter bound and loosed souls. As her pretensions mounted, she thought it advisable to leave the word *souls* out.¹ People were thus led into a belief that antiquity had attributed to St. Peter some general power of binding and loosing, instead of a discretion in penitential and sacramentary dispensations. As the apostle's privileges were identified with the pope's, a belief of this kind was naturally thought very desirable at Rome, when her schemes of domination had attained maturity. At an earlier period, they had been expressly disclaimed by one of her own

¹ "Ceux qui depuis Grégoire VII. ont voulu donner un sens de domination temporelle aux paroles par lesquels Jésus Christ a donné seulement un pouvoir spirituel à ses apôtres, ne pouvoient s'empêcher de reconnoître cette vérité dans la tradition des prières de l'église : et c'est pourquoi dans les derniers temps, pour effacer cette idée, lorsqu'on a donné commission à Rome de révoir le Bréviaire, les réviseurs ont fait un retranchement dans l'oraison qui se dit à l'office de la fête de St. Pierre. On lisoit dans les anciens Bréviaires, que nous avons encore en main : *Seigneur, qui ayant donné à l'apôtre St. Pierre les clefs du royaume de ciel, lui avez aussi donné l'autorité de lier et de délier les ames, &c. Deus qui B. Petro, apostolo tuo collatis clavisibus regni coelestis, ligandi ac solvendi animas pontificium tradidisti, &c.* : dans la réformation, on a retranché ce mot, les *AMES*, *animas*, parce qu'il restreignoit le pouvoir apostolique aux choses purement spirituelles ; et depuis Grégoire VII. il n'y a rien que la cour de Rome n'ait tenté pour l'étendre au temporel." *Rapport à l'Assemblée Gén. du Cler. de Fr.* 22.

more illustrious bishops, who could see in our Lord's especial address to St. Peter only a wish to hold him up as a pattern to the whole body of Christian pastors.¹ Opinions of this kind naturally prevailed before image-worship cast a shade over the Bible by bringing up the plea of tradition.² Scripture narrative makes

¹ " Mais la tradition est si constante là-dessus, les Pères sont si unanimement d'accord, que ce que Jésus Christ a dit à St. Pierre, se doit entendre de tout l'église, dont il étoit la figure, parce qu'il en devoit être le chef ; qu'il ne doit pas rester une ombre de doute sur ce sujet. Saint Léon doit lui suffire pour nous convaincre de cette tradition, puisque c'est un des plus illustres Pères de l'église, et qu'étant assis sur la chaire de St. Pierre, il en sçavoit aussi mieux que personne les avantages, et les soutenoit avec beaucoup d'autorité. Voici comme parle ce saint pape touchant ce qui est dit à St. Pierre. JE TE DONNERAI LES CLEFS DU ROYAUME DES CIEUX. Cette puissance à la vérité a passé aux apôtres et ce décret a été pour tous ceux qui sont les premiers pasteurs d'église : mais ce n'est pas en vain qu'on a donné à un ce qui a été communiqué à tous ; car on confie singulièrement cet avantage à Pierre, parce qu'en lui a été donné à tous les pasteurs de l'église l'idée de leur ministère." *Ibid.* 70.

² The second Council of Nice rested image-worship upon the divinely-speaking teaching of the holy fathers, and the tradition of the Catholic Church, knowing the one to be of the Holy Ghost who dwells in the other. (Labbe. et Coss. vii. 555.) This passage appears to have been thought of by the Council of Trent, when it pronounced Romish traditions either derived from our Saviour's conversation, or dictated by the Holy Ghost. The plea of tradition however, in favour of image-worship, is notoriously false. Its advocates are forced to tax their ingenuity for reasons why it was not practised in the first ages ; in other words, why there is no tradition for it. One of their reasons, fear of Jewish reproach, is as old as Wilfrid's time. That early English pleader in favour of Rome accounted for St. John's patronage of the Easter kept in Britain by the loved disciple's wish to conciliate Jewish prejudice. *In the same way*, he said, *all who come to the faith must repudiate images, which were invented by demons, lest forsooth they should cause scandal to those Jews who were among the Gentiles.* (Bed. *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 25. p. 223.) Wilfrid had been at Rome, and had of course seen images in churches there. He had most likely heard also there this reason for their notorious want of primitive authority. Thus the Roman bishop gained an important step while aiding superstition to fight under the banner of falsehood. It is clear that when the deuteronicenes talked of tradition, they meant some three hundred years or so before. This is like an Englishman, who should talk of antiquity, and mean Henry the Seventh's reign. A well-informed person could not deliberately and nakedly use such language without intending to deceive.

against St. Peter's alleged monarchy, whatever inferences favourable to it may be drawn from Scripture metaphor. The New Testament mentions no difficulties that arose, which were not resolved by the whole apostolic college.¹ St. Peter commonly took the lead, as must be done by somebody, when men deliberate, but he does not seem to have acted subsequently otherwise than as a party to the deliberation. Nor do his contemporaries appear to have treated him as their superior. On the contrary, when he ate with Cornelius, those who thought Christianity a mere graft upon Judaism, at once found fault with him.² St. Paul did so too, and, as it seems, rather sharply, when his practice varied, so as to please by turns both Jew and Gentile.³ If his position had been plainly and confessedly that which papal advocates represent, such liberties would never have been taken with him. It may be added, perhaps, that no occasion for them could ever have been given. Providence was not likely to create an apostolic monarch, without so inspiring him as to command unqualified submission from his brethren. Even, therefore, if the pope could prove himself successor to St. Peter, nothing would be proved in favour of many claims that have been successfully set up for the Roman see.

¹ "Les premières affaires, soit de discipline, soit de religion, qui se mûrent dans l'église après l'ascension du Fils de Dieu, se terminèrent dans des conciles ou des assemblées apostoliques, et par les suffrages de tous, — Enfin nous ne voyons en aucun lieu d'écriture, que St. Pierre ait décidé tout seul ; et il se croit si peu le maître de l'église, qu'il reçoit les ordres de ses frères assemblés et les exécute, sans craindre que cette soumission diminue rien de son autorité ni de sa primauté." *Rapport à l'Assemb. Gén. du Cl. de Fr.* 48.

² *Acts*, xi. 2

³ *Gal.* ii. 11.

It is plain that such claims rest upon a string of assumptions. Our Lord's figurative language to St. Peter must be taken as a formal conveyance of ecclesiastical power ; the apostle's Roman episcopate must be conceded ; and so must the descent of his privileges upon the series of Roman bishops ; nor is it much less necessary to assume the perpetuity of Rome as a city, and head of a diocese. This was a sort of necessity that made candid Romanists in the sixteenth century see the danger of understanding Christ exactly as papal advocates desire. It was then far from unlikely that a Mahometan sultan might cross the Adriatic, and substitute the crescent for the cross all over Italy. Scripture, cautious minds remarked, says nothing to the contrary, however it may teach us to confide in the permanence of that church which was to be founded, in some way or other connected with St. Peter's name.¹ Upon this particular kind of danger

¹ " Il y a de la différence, dit *Driede*, entre l'église ou la chaire de Pierre, et l'église Romaine : car on peut concevoir la chaire de Pierre, ou l'église universelle toujours subsistante, quoique l'église particulière, ou le diocèse de Rome soit détruit. C'est en se fondant sur cette distinction que les hérétiques s'obstinent à rejeter le troisième sens : *et quelque lignes après* : autrefois quelques catholiques sans se livrer à un esprit d'entêtement et d'opiniâtreté, soutenoient comme une opinion probable, qu'il étoit incertain par l'Ecriture, si l'église particulière de Rome pouvoit abandonner la foi : d'où ils concluoient qu'il y auroit de la témérité à donner comme de foi l'un ou l'autre sentiment, puisque de part et d'autre les conséquences qu'on tire de l'Ecriture ne sont pas démonstratives, et qu'il n'a été révélé en aucun endroit, que les Turcs n'envahiront pas le diocèse de Rome, et n'en chasseront pas tous les Chrétiens." (Bossuet, iii. 322.) The *senses* meant here are those put upon our Lord's prayer for the indefectibility of St. Peter's faith. These, according to a work published in 1533, by *Dridoens*, a celebrated Flemish divine, who was pupil to Adrian VI., are three : namely, that the faith should never fail in the hearts of Peter and his successors ; or, that it should never fail in the *general chair, the universal see, the totality of the church, or, what is the same thing, the sheep of Peter ; or*

to the Roman city and diocese, no one will now speculate. But who knows whether the banks of the Tiber may not eventually become like those of the Tigris and Euphrates? Nineveh and Babylon are only mounds of earth, which travellers cannot easily identify. To Rome the same fate may be reserved, and transatlantic students may muse upon the vanity which has called her the Eternal City. Prophecy has used no such language, and her pestilential air would rapidly drive men to seek a healthier spot, if she fell under some overwhelming blow. In such a case, after no great lapse of time, her ecclesiastical organisation might wholly melt away, and yet mankind have

thirdly, in the diocese confided specially to the cares, the conducting, and the government of Peter. The first sense Dridoens dismisses as contrary apparently to our Lord's meaning, inasmuch as it supposes all popes to be predestined to perseverance in the faith. His master, Adrian VI., had taught the contrary, and Dridoens knew him to be right. The second and third senses are pronounced by the Flemish doctor *conformable* to our Lord's intentions: the second to be of faith. Upon this Bossuet remarks, *It is evident that this second sense which attributes the indefectibility to the episcopate or the church of Peter, is of faith, since the episcopate and church of Peter is nothing else than the Catholic church, and in that Peter is very distinguished from the other apostles, who, as pastors of particular churches, may lose all their sheep, whereas Peter, having been put at the head of the whole flock, is no more in danger of losing all his sheep than Jesus Christ himself; since those who are Jesus Christ's belong also to Peter as general pastor under Jesus Christ, the sovereign pastor.* Of course Bossuet meant to be understood of the Roman Catholic church only. But this is an arbitrary limitation. If St. Peter be taken as an impersonation of the Christian body, there is no reason for excluding from his membership any who hold a scriptural faith. Papal advocates, therefore, are anxious to make out a case for the particular church of Rome. Dridoens believes devoutly and piously that the faith will never fail in the diocese, or particular church of Rome. (327.) But then he admits that prophecy gives us no such assurance. His devout and pious belief may, therefore, prove nothing but a vain presumption, and if it should, papal power could scarcely be maintained. The Roman bishop is become a sovereign prince, but if he became a mere dependent on some one government, other states would soon find or make reasons for setting him at naught.

many ages to inhabit earth. It has been, therefore, thought, reasonably enough, that our Lord's promise concerns the universal church, not the local church of Rome.¹ Hence even Romanists have been unable to keep up their favourite but unscriptural talk of Peter's chair without understanding that term, like the rock, in the figurative sense. Union with it, upon this principle, will mean an united profession of that faith which St. Peter so manfully declared. If Christians have but one hope of salvation, and one rule of life, they form a single body after all. For enforcing uniformity in every thing besides, there have been really no means since the Roman empire fell to pieces. No sooner did another powerful sovereignty arise and claim its own deliberative rights, than synods came to opposite conclusions. Irene, with her monks and effeminate population, decided for tradition and images; Charlemain, with his manly friends, examined this decision by the light of Scripture, and rejected it.

¹ "Nous avouons aussi très-volontiers que cette indéfectibilité de la foi de St. Pierre ne regarde pas seulement sa personne, et ses successeurs au sens que nous verrons d'expliquer, mais encore son siège, pourvu que par ce siège on entende, comme le concile, tout l'église dont le pape est le chef visible : et nous voulons que l'on donne l'infailibilité au souverain pontife, lorsqu'il parle *ex cathedra* ; c'est-à-dire, lorsqu'il parle, dans l'unité de sa chaire, qui est tout l'église, ou qu'étant à la tête d'un concile oecuménique qui la représente, il prononce au nom du concile les vérités décidées par le concile." *Rapp. à l'Assemb. Gén. du Cl. de Fr.* 72.

CHAPTER X.

WILFRID.

Papal advocacy requires management in Wilfrid's case. — Romish irritation excited by a plain statement of it. — Wilfrid's first appeal. — Commminatory excommunications. — Wilfrid's imprisonment and release. — His reconciliation to Theodore. — Nature of English references to Rome. — Final settlement of Wilfrid's case. — Gregory the Seventh's erroneous representations.

THOSE who use Gallican divines for estimating the Roman see's early position, will suspect at once that Protestant representations of Wilfrid's case must be true. When the Anglo-Saxon church had scarcely gotten beyond infancy, Wilfrid called repeatedly for aid from Rome. His calls were duly answered there, but at home it was found that in making them he had lost his labour. English difficulties were not to be overcome by Roman help. When the pope took up views of Anglo-Saxon affairs which native authorities did not approve, these latter made no account of his decision. This Wilfrid's history so plainly lets us know, that papal advocacy has been at great pains to keep its real bearing out of sight. Among the expedients that might be adopted for this purpose is the relation of Wilfrid's case out of chronological order. Offa had a vindictive and politic scheme for setting up an archbishopric at Lichfield, and he sought his countrymen's acquiescence in it through the Roman bishop's approbation. This instance evidently ex-

hibits the papal see as a selfish politician's tool, but it may be hastily taken as evidence of its jurisdiction. Those who have so taken it are prepared for a Romish view of Wilfrid's history. But, unfortunately, this records transactions which are anterior to Offa's application by somewhere about a century. Where the professed object, however, is not a regular history, strict chronological order may be dispensed with. A very eminent personage has lately availed himself of this privilege. He has taken Offa first, and Wilfrid afterwards.¹ Thus a notion may insinuate itself into the reader's mind, that Rome was recognised among the Anglo-Saxons from the first, as the seat of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over them, and had merely been disregarded by some strange infelicity when Wilfrid sought protection from her.

Attempts to shake the soundness of such a belief have been recently stigmatised as "a mass of fiction which modern prejudice has spread over" Wilfrid's "story;" and that remarkable man himself has been characterised as "a much-injured prelate seeking redress according to the laws then universally recognised among his contemporaries."² But when a Romish

¹ Lingard, *Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, i. 80. 133.

² *The Anglo-Saxon Church* says, "papal jurisdiction being unknown to Wilfrid's countrymen, they spurned Agatho's interference." Dr. Lingard cites Eddy and Fridgode to prove them to have spurned it, because they charged Wilfrid with obtaining it by means of money. Are we then to believe that Northumbria thought the Roman bishop open to a bribe? But probably we are to take this charge as levelled only at his assessors. The judgment in Wilfrid's favour was judicially given, and hence arises another ground for the offensive mention of money. No doubt his cause was pleaded by paid advocates, who argued according to their instructions. Wilfrid's countrymen, therefore, might mean little more in treating him as the bearer of a bought judgment,

narrative is consulted for Wilfrid's troubles, it is found in accordance as to facts with Protestant narratives; the writers charged so roundly with serving up "a mass of fiction" prove to be men who have made faithful use of their authorities. Undoubtedly they are not free from that preference of scriptural truth to man's traditions or developments, which may be called "modern prejudice," inasmuch as Europe heard little about it before the Reformation. But on the other side may be charged *antiquated prejudice*,

than that he had employed counsel without giving them honest instructions. This appears probable. Wilfrid talked of robbery. On the other side nothing seems to have been considered but the expediency of dividing an overgrown diocese, and the sufficiency of funds for the purpose. He was therefore likely to instruct his advocates upon points which had really nothing to do with the question. With this he really seems to have been charged. Dr. Lingard supposes him to have been "offered a part of his former diocese, if he would acknowledge the papal mandate to be a forgery (*si denegaret vera esse*)."¹ (i. 396.) But the conditions, as appears from the whole passage, were, *If he should choose to deny that the canonical statutes, which were sent from the apostolical see, were true*" (*"statuta canonica, quæ ab apostolicâ sede missa sunt, eligeret denegare vera esse"*). (*XV. Script.* 70.) He might be, therefore, only required to admit that the canons relied upon in his case really did not bear upon it. He brought over with him from Rome a document regularly signed and sealed (*"cum synodi totius consensu et subscriptione, cum bullis et sigillis signatis"*). (*Ibid.* 69.) Such a document was not likely to be thought a forgery; and when it was laid before a synodal assembly of lay and clerical Northumbrians, no one seems to have treated it as one. *Some contumaciously spurned it*, Eddy says, *and, what is worse, defamed it to the ruin of their own souls, declaring it to have been procured by money*. Malmesbury too says, *the king believed such as asserted those decrees to have been bought by money, for the Romans lend themselves to people who make presents*. (*De Pontiff. Script. post Bed.* 150.) Eadmer says, *the king despised the letter of the apostolic pope with tumid pride, despising he laughed at it, laughing at it he cast it from him, and accused God's servant of having made a most wicked charge* (*"ac in famulum Dei nequissimi delatoris crimen detulit"*). (*Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* iii. 190.) This last passage seems clearly to express Eadmer's opinion that Wilfrid was charged with procuring a judgment by means of misrepresentation — not that he brought forward a forgery.

the agent being a cast of thought which passed unquestioned before printing opened European eyes, and which cannot prevail extensively again without blighting mankind under a sacerdotal despotism. The evils of such a cast of thought may be seen by its power to bring oblivion even over such a mind as that of Romish England's great historical luminary. That very able writer, as it will soon appear, has actually taken a comminatory excommunication, which was common enough in Wilfrid's time, and not confined to popes, for a proof of papal authority. He might have learnt otherwise even from a Benedictine monk. But information from the French church's more enlightened days is out of fashion with modern Romanists. They would rather retrograde upon times which gloried in the Crusades.

Those who glory in the human mind's escape from crusading, or the like, will readily suppose a lingering affection for such things to be a very unsafe historical guide. Should their attention chance to light on Wilfrid's case, they will soon see, that if that prelate placed his trust in laws then "universally recognised," certainly his own countrymen had a very strange way of recognising them. They absolutely and repeatedly refused the redress which Wilfrid claimed under papal sanction. They charged him, it is true, with obtaining a favourable judgment from Rome by means of money. But it is far from following from such a charge, that his object would have been gained, if he could prove himself the bearer of an unbought papal decision. The charge itself might have originated in a similar one brought against Theodore,

under whose authority Wilfrid's overgrown diocese was divided, and his accumulations of revenue made into endowments for three prelaties, instead of one. Theodore's conduct in this is insultingly taxed with corruption. In that illustrious prelate, Eddy, Wilfrid's friend, finds another Balaam, who took from a Balak, those *gifts which blind even wise men's eyes*.¹ When Wilfrid heard his decision, he was violently enraged. But Eddy does not place his rage upon any very dignified grounds. *Why*, said he to the king and archbishop, *do ye, like robbers, defraud me of my substance, given me by kings, in God's behalf*.² Such language really affords countenance to the case brought against him by the queen. She earns for her pains all the virulence of a baffled partizan. The devil, we are told, set her on, who sought as usual, among fragile female vessels, those arms by which he has often brought defilement on the world. Could Eddy forget how much, at other times, Wilfrid had been befriended by the softer sex? His enemy, on this occasion, is painted as a witch racked by envy, who discharged envenomed arrows into the king's heart, like most wicked Jezebel, that slew God's prophets, and persecuted Elijah.³ Her sting evidently

¹ "Ad auxilium suæ vesaniæ archiepiscopum Theodorum cum muneribus, quæ excæcant etiam sapientum oculos, quasi Balach Balaam contra Dei voluntatem incitaverunt." *XV. Script.* 63.

² "Quid causæ esset, ut sine aliquo delicti peccato suis substantiis a regibus pro Deo donatis prædonum more, defraudarent." *Ibid.*

³ "Insidiator, quasi leo rugiens secundum Petrum apostolum circumiit ovile Dei, quærens introitum die noctuque, vigilans semper, primum militem fortissimum vincere concupiscens, ut timidi facilius superentur; consueta arma arripiens, vasa fragilia muliebria quæsit, per quæ totum mundum maculavit frequenter. Nam regis Ecgfridi regina, nomine Irminburg, suadente diabolo, invidia tunc temporis

lay in the representations that she made of Wilfrid's wealth and ostentation. She dwelt upon his *worldly glory and riches, the multitude of his monasteries, the magnitude of his buildings, the innumerable host of his attendants equipped with royal habiliments and arms.*¹

torquebatur. Nam de lupa, post occisionem regis, agna Domini, et perfecta abbatisa, materque familias optima commutata est. Jam namque de pharetra sua venenatas sagittas venefica in cor regis, quasi impiissima Jezebel prophetas Dei occidens, et Heliam persequens, per auditum verborum emisit." (Ibid.) The *perfect abbess* mentioned is Etheldred, or Audrey, abbess of Ely, Egfrid's former wife. She had imbibed a fanatical desire of virginity, which Egfrid could not overcome. As Wilfrid was greatly in her confidence, the king wanted him to impress upon her the duty of living like other married women. Instead of this, he advised her to importune for a divorce. At length she left her husband, and became a nun at Coldingham: Egfrid would have brought her back, but she escaped, and eventually was made abbess of Ely. Wilfrid's conduct in this whole affair gave great offence to Egfrid. He had long thought very highly of him, and was led to believe him in his interest, while Etheldred was being plied with persuasions to give way. Wilfrid, says Etheldred's ancient biographer, *dissembled providently and prudently, as if favouring the king, and promising to persuade the queen into compliance with his desire, fearing lest, as it happened, on this account he should make him offended with him.* (Acta SS. Ord. Bened. ii. 716.) The same biographer says of Egfrid, after Etheldred's final escape from him into the Isle of Ely, *nor afterwards had he the confidence in Wilfrid, the Lord's confessor, or affection for him, that he had before, but long silently bore a grudge against him in his breast, and at the looked-for hour, for this reason ("ob istiusmodi causam"), he drove him from the seat of his bishopric.* (Ibid. 718.) Thus, if we are to seek personal reasons for the partition of Wilfrid's bishopric, we may find them, not so much, if at all, in the representations of Egfrid's second wife, as in his own resentful remembrance of the manner in which his former wife's confidential adviser plied him during twelve years, (for so long did he live with Etheldred,) with hopes of overcoming a repugnance that the confidant really abetted. It is certainly not unlikely that the second wife, seeing the dislike thus engendered in him towards Wilfrid, and perhaps disliking that prelate herself, might talk, in some such strain as this: — "He abused your credulity, so long as he saw any prospect of answering his own ends by it, and finely he has prospered. His revenues are large enough to endow four bishoprics, and the country requires as many. Nor can any one deny, that Wilfrid's means would be far better employed in endowing them, than in keeping up an ostentatious establishment for himself."

¹ The original passage is extracted from Eddly, in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 82.

Whatever might be her motives in calling attention to these things, it is plain that a case could be made out from them for distributing such ample funds over a larger surface, and providing more effectually for the ecclesiastical supervision of a very extensive district. So appear to have thought both Theodore and the king. They publicly acquitted Wilfrid of all blame, but simply told him that their decision would not be altered.¹ After consulting with some of his episcopal brethren, Wilfrid subsequently announced his intention of appealing to Rome; and going away from the tribunal while the courtiers laughed², he said, *On this day, in another year, you who now laugh at the condemnation which I owe to envy, shall cry bitterly at your own confusion.* The prophecy, a Romanist may suppose, was to find completion, because the pope's power was "universally recognised"

¹ "Illi (the king and archbishop) responderunt famosum verbum pontifici nostro coram omni populo, dicentes, Nullam criminis culpam in aliquo nocendi tibi adscribimus: sed tamen statuta de te judicia non mutamus." (*XV. Script.* 63.) It might seem from a passage extracted in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, that certain accusations really were brought against Wilfrid; probably he was charged with an ostentation unsuitable to the episcopal character. But whatever might be brought against him, it is plain from Eddy that his diocese was professedly divided upon no personal consideration whatever. He seems to have persisted that such was not the case, relying, probably, upon the known fact, that certain accusations really had been brought against him.

² This is not mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, though it seems to be by Carte and Henry. Dr. Lingard will have the laughter to have originated in the pleasure taken by the courtiers at Wilfrid's disgrace, not at his threat of an appeal to Rome, which is the view taken by the two Protestants. The Romish view proceeds upon Wilfrid's words, which connect the laughter with his condemnation, not with his appeal ("Qui nunc ridetis in meam pro invidia condemnationem"). But the laughter is mentioned after we are told of his intention to appeal, and the result shows that it might be expected, when he talked of such a thing. He did appeal, and with success, at Rome: in England he found himself to have lost his labour.

in those days, and Wilfrid felt sure of its successful exertion in his favour before twelve months were expired. But, instead of this, Eddy tells us, that on that anniversary day the corpse of Elfwin, brother to the king, a promising youth who had been slain in battle, was carried into York, to the people's general grief. Egfrid himself too, it is added, never gained another victory.¹

When Wilfrid reached Rome, his case was already pretty well understood; Coenwald, whom Theodore had sent, with particulars, having been there some time. The Romans were naturally delighted with an appeal from England, and Agatho seems to have given the case very fair consideration. In a synodical assembly, drawn from Rome and its dependencies², it

¹ "*Hoc anniversario die, qui nunc ridetis in meam pro invidiâ condemnationem, tunc in vestrâ confusione amare flebitis. Et sic secundum prophetiam sancti evenit. Nam eo die anniversario, Elfwinis regis occisi cadaver in Eboricam delatum est, omnes populi amare lacrymantes, vestimenta et capitis comam lacerabant, et frater ejus superstes usque ad mortem sine victoriâ regnabat.*" (*XV. Script. 34.*) From the 21st chapter of Bede's fourth book we learn that this young man was about eighteen, and very much beloved. He was killed in a battle on the banks of the Trent, fought between his brother Egfrid and Ethelred, king of Mercia. The precise spot is thought to be Elford, which may be a corruption of Elfwin's ford, in Staffordshire. The catastrophe does not appear to have taken place on that day of the month in the year immediately following Wilfrid's prophecy, as has been generally supposed. Hence *anniversario* is considered to mean any anniversary. Such loopholes, no doubt, are very convenient for those who set up for prophets, and they commonly are discreet enough to provide them. Stevenson's *Bede*, 297.

² "In the mean time probably, before Wilfrid's arrival, Pope Agatho, upon information of these stirrings in England, calls a synod, or rather an extraordinary consistory; so I call it, because the greatest part of them who sate in it were probably no other than the incumbents of the more considerable titles, or parish churches, in the city of Rome. For these were the pope's standing counsellors in that age, and were called cardinal-priests, or deacons. Those now called cardinals were established in the tenth or eleventh century. The seventeen bishops who were added to

was determined that Wilfrid should be restored to his bishopric, on condition of presenting for Theodore's consecration some persons approved by a council to administer the newly created dioceses. The parties actually placed in them were to be dismissed. In substance, therefore, the English arrangements were approved; but Wilfrid was pronounced not liable to forfeiture, because he had committed no offence; and the new prelates were declared not lawfully in possession, because they were quartered upon another, and an innocent man, without his consent. To this decision was appended a clause, which has been represented as conclusive evidence of papal jurisdiction over England in those days. It certainly threatens clerical disobedience to the synod with deprivation, and a curse to all eternity; any other disobedience, even royal, with exclusion from the sacramental table, and a visible unworthiness to behold our Lord's terrible coming. To inflict this last penalty was beyond human power, and another clause gives to the whole document rather an imprecatory and precatory, than a judicial, character. It wishes every conceivable advantage, both here and hereafter, to those who shall act as the synod enjoins.¹ This language is not

these priests, made it an *extraordinary* consistory. It is not certain whether these bishops were called to Rome on this particular occasion, or had been summoned thither before, to assist at the great council which was to be held there against the Monothelites. They were all, I think, of the suburbicary provinces." *Johnson's Collection of Eccl. Laws.*

¹ "Si quis proinde contra horum statutorum synodalia decreta ausu temerario obsistere tentaverit, vel non obedienter suscepit, vel post quodlibet temporis spatium, quique sunt vel fuerunt, infringere ea in totum vel in partes tentaverit; ex auctoritate Beati Petri, apostolorum principis, eum hac sanctione percellendum censemus: ut, siquidem episcopus est, qui hanc piam dispositionem temerare tentaverit, sit ab

of a decretory nature. Its true character may be understood from other ancient remains. Now, the fourth Council of Orleans, in 541, concludes its canons by pronouncing those who would not obey them *blameable in the sight of God, and of all the brotherhood*.¹ The fifth Council of Orleans, in 549, denounces an *irrevocable anathema* against any person, be his *power or order what it may*, who should apply to other purposes the revenues of a royal hospital at Lyons.² Mabillon produces other passages of the

episcopali ordine destitutus, et æterni anathematis reus: similiter si presbyter, aut diaconus fuerit, vel inferioris gradus ecclesiæ: si vero clericus, monachus, vel laicus cujuslibet ditionis, vel rex, extraneus efficiatur a corpore et sanguine Salvatoris nostri, Domini Jesu Christi; nec terribilem ejus adventum dignus appareat conspiceret. Si quis vero hæc, quæ a nobis statuta et definita sunt, cum sincerâ devotione, et perfectâ satisfactione susceperit, tenuerit, perfecit; videat bona Domini in regione vivorum, consorsque dextræ partis existat, ac æternam beatitudinem possideat, et illam beatissimam vocem mereatur audire cum omnibus sanctis, qui divino conspectui placuerunt, et æternum gloriam possederunt, audiens et ipse pro obedientia, quam Deus præ omnibus sacrificiis diligit, ab ipso jūdice omnium, Domino nostro Jesu Christo: *Venite benedicti Petris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi.*" (XV. Script. 68.) Such passages appear to justify the *Bampton Lectures* for 1830, and the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, in representing Agatho with his assessors as not pretending to an authority over England strictly judicial. Dr. Lingard would overset that representation by an extract from Fridegod actually given in the *Bampton Lectures*. This passage, undoubtedly referring to the pope, has the words *jubet sancita* and *jussa*. But such terms are of no great importance in an obscure turgid poem, written by a monk, between three and four hundred years after the events which it describes, and some two centuries after the forged Decretals had gained general credence. Fridegod, however, by his third cited line, really shows that no power was claimed at Rome for enforcing the *orders* talked of in the two former lines. Disobedience is merely threatened by what is popularly called a judgment. It was to render *all by the Lord's judgment* liable to *be stricken by a curse*. That Agatho meant himself to be understood in this way appears plainly enough from the concluding clause of his judgment, which invokes blessings upon those who obey, but of which Dr. Lingard has taken no notice.

¹ Labb. et Coss. v. 388.

² *Ibid.* 395.

- same kind, and ranks among them the very words used by Agatho in Wilfrid's case.¹ He calls these denunciations *comminatory forms*, not *decretory sentences*, and traces the origin of them to a habit of using the 109th Psalm.² In spite of Agatho's cursing and blessing, we are, therefore, justified in asserting, that "papal jurisdiction was unknown to Wilfrid's countrymen."³

This was conclusively shown by the event. When Wilfrid arrived in Northumbria, his Roman document was duly considered by a mixed body of distinguished laymen and ecclesiastics, convened in the usual place for holding such assemblies⁴, but obedience to it was absolutely declined. Respect for the papal see was, however, general among the Anglo-Saxons; and as its judgment in this case was far from unreasonable, Wilfrid's countrymen would have had him admit something amiss in the instrument produced. Romish advocacy makes the required admission to be, that it was a forgery.⁵ But it had *subscriptions*, *bulls*, and *figured seals*.⁶ The forging of it was, therefore,

¹ *De Re Diplomatica*, 100.

² *Ibid.* 106.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 82. "The protection of the pope had not yet been claimed by Anglo-Saxon churchmen; we may therefore, considering the connection still subsisting with the old British clergy, as well as the short time that Northumbria had belonged to the Catholic Church, regard it only as a very bold experiment, when Pope Agatho, with the synod assembled at Rome, commanded, under threats of all spiritual punishments, the restoration of Wilfrith to his former Saxon bishopric. But the thunders of the Vatican proved as powerless as had been for many centuries the decrees of the Capitol." (Lappenberg, i. 185.

⁴ "Omnibus principibus ibidem habitantibus, necnon servis Dei in locum synodalem accersitis." *Eddius. XV. Script.* 69.

⁵ Lingard, i. 396.

⁶ "Apostolicæ sedis judicia cum totius synodi consensu, et subscrip-

scarcely possible, and was not likely to be suspected. Theodore's agent, Coenwald, also, might have supplied means, if he had not already done so, for setting any such matter to rest. Wilfrid remained at Rome a considerable time after the decision in his favour.¹ Ample opportunity was therefore given for despatching to England full information as to all that had been done both for him and by him. But even if that had been hitherto neglected, Wilfrid was detained in Northumbria sufficiently long for the obtaining of intelligence from Rome. But we never hear a word of forgery; only of charges, that things brought forward were not true, and that a favourable judgment had been procured by means of money. Now, these objections would apply, if Wilfrid represented himself merely as robbed, because the queen envied his wealth and style of living. Coenwald, no doubt, placed the division of his diocese, and the re-distribution of its revenues, upon very different grounds. Nor is it unlikely that he might represent Wilfrid as making way for his own representations of the case by a very liberal distribution of presents. But whatever might

tionem ostendens, cum bullis et sigillis signatis." (Eddius, *ut supra*.) There is a debate as to the antiquity of bulls, or pensile seals, to papal documents. Polydore Virgil says that Agatho used a ring-seal upon wax, and that leaden bulls were not used by popes until about a century later. Rainaldi, however, declares them to have been introduced by Sylvester. This assertion is, however, overthrown by Du Cange. But Eddy gives in the passage cited above sufficient evidence, that Agatho made use of leaden bulls, and such is Mabillon's construction of his words. *De Re Diplom.* 129.

¹ Mabillon says, *Wilfrid was not immediately dismissed to his country, but by the pontiff's order he staid at Rome more than four months.* (*Annal. Bened.* i. 544.) Eddy names no time, but says that *many days were spent according to the apostolical command, and all the holy synod's order.* His departure was also prescribed.

have mostly weighed at Rome, the only thing of importance remains incontestible; namely, that in this case, the first of English appeals, Northumbria paid no attention whatever to the pope's judgment. Of a decree from him we hear not a word.¹ Not only did Wilfrid fail of obtaining the redress which he sought under papal sanction, but also his native prince detained him in custody during nine months. So strict were the orders for his imprisonment, that he was thrust into a place where there was little light by day, and a lamp was not allowed at night. His guards, however, saw through chinks² that light was

¹ Eddy says that Wilfrid was ordered to take back home *judicia apostolicæ sedis scripta*; that he brought into Northumbria *vexillum victoriæ, hoc est, apostolicæ sedis judicium*; that he laid before the authorities there *apostolicæ sedis judicia*; that the king with his flatterers angrily despised, *quod dictu horribile est, Petri apostoli, et apostolorum principis, qui habet a Deo solvendi ligandique potestatem, judicia*. Stubbs merely calls the document which he took home a *letter of absolution*. (*X. Script.* 1691.) 'Eadmer says, that when Wilfrid produced his Roman document, he defended his cause viva voce, and showed himself to have been falsely accused, and unjustly degraded. (*Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* i. 190.) It is plain that he and his opponents took up different grounds. He stood upon his freedom from any canonical offence. They charged him with none, or, at all events, Theodore did not. Why his diocese and its revenues were dealt with so little to his satisfaction, is not expressly said; but there is reason for believing these things done upon the grounds of expediency, propriety, and agreeableness to the canons. The Roman synod seems to have decided that such things could not be canonically done in an innocent man's case without his consent. This abstractedly is true; but Theodore's conduct is a strong presumption, that some circumstances were taken into consideration, which have not reached posterity. The charge against Wilfrid's Roman conduct was, probably, that such circumstances were placed in some unfair light, and hence that injustice was done to the motives of parties in England.

² "Repercussit fulgur carnificum oculos per rimas inspectantium." (*Malmesb. De Pontiff. Script. post Bed.* 150.) The words *per rimas*, so useful for explaining the miracle, do not occur in Eddy. He merely says that the keepers heard the holy man constantly singing psalms, and saw the house in the dark night shining within as if by day.

within, and people thought it sent from heaven. We do not learn that any keeper went in to see. Another circumstance added greatly to Wilfrid's fame. The wife of the governor of the town was seized apparently with epilepsy, and Wilfrid, being conducted to her, most likely as she was coming to, had the credit of restoring her. The custody of such an officer became too indulgent for the king's pleasure, and Wilfrid was taken to another prison. His new jailor would have loaded him with chains; but none could be made to fit. Blacksmiths never produced any that were not soon found either too little or too big. But no miracle wrought by himself set Wilfrid at large. The one which rendered him that service took place in the nunnery at Coldingham, of which Ebba, the king's aunt, was abbess. The queen was lodging there, and brought with her, as usual, a chrismary, or box for relics, to be suspended from the neck, which Wilfrid had imported from Rome, and which she had appropriated; giving thereby an opportunity of likening hers to those hands in ancient Israel, which had sacrilegiously been laid on the ark of God.¹ In the night, she underwent some very sharp attack.² This, her husband was told by the

¹ "Sanctas reliquias, quas regina de collo spoliati abstraxit, et in perniciem sui, sicut arcam Dei, per civitates ducens." Eddius. *XV. Script.* 71.

² The precise nature of this attack is open to dispute. Eddy says, *There (at Coldingham) the queen, that night, being seized by a demon, like Pilate's wife, being spent by many scourges* ("multis flagellis defatigata"), *scarcely looked for day alive*. An inference may be drawn from these words that she was unmercifully flogged. Eddy goes on to tell us, that she was found by the abbess early in the morning ("die elucente") *tightly bound, all her members being drawn up together in one* ("contractis membris simul in unum stricte alligatam"). This may,

abbess, would have been spared, in all probability, if she had not made free with Wilfrid's chrismary; and he had not driven God's unoffending favourite from his bishopric, robbed him, spurned apostolic interference in his behalf, and shut him up in prison. Egfrid was also threatened, in the name of God, with a share of his wife's punishment, if he should not listen to the abbess's advice. Most of it was taken by him. He sent back the chrismary, and allowed its owner to leave Northumbria. The abbess counselled Wilfrid's restoration to his bishopric, but she could neither coax nor frighten her nephew quite so far as this.¹

perhaps, mean some spasmodic attack. But it may also make one think, that having been bound down for flagellation, she was left so after it was over. The later ancient writers appear studiously obscure upon this incident. Malmesbury makes the queen's illness to have begun in the evening, and immediately connects with it the abbess's advice to the king. Fridegode dismisses it in one obscure line. Eadmer evidently wrote with his bombastic poem before him, and has merely transferred his brief obscurity to prose. Among the moderns, Lappenberg attributes Wilfrid's release to "bold artifice, and the representations of his adherents." (*Anglo Saxon Kings*, i. 185.) Dr. Lingard glides out of the difficulty, by saying nothing about Wilfrid's miracles, or the queen's illness, (if it were not a flogging, managed by the abbess,) but merely tells us that Wilfrid's "liberation was at last granted to the earnest prayer of the abbess Ebba." (*Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, i. 137.) If this case had not been thought likely to be suspected of collusion, Romish writers would scarcely have said so little about it.

¹ The following is her speech in the original. Eddy says that it was *boldly* ("audaciter") spoken, and accounted for the queen's flogging, or fit, as she, Ebba, understood matters ("secundum suam intelligentiam"); that is, probably, as she wished others to understand them. "Ego scio, et vere scio, quod Deo amabilem Wilfridum episcopum, sine alicujus sceleris piaculo, de sede episcopatus abjecisti, et exilio expulsus sedem apostolicam adiit; et inde reversum cum scriptis apostolicæ sedis, quæ habet cum sancto Petro apostolo potestatem ligandi et solvendi, insipienter contemnens spoliasti; dum et mala malis addens in carcerem sanctum conclusisti. Et nunc, fili mi, secundum consilium matris tuæ fac, disrumpe vincula ejus, et sanctas reliquias, quas regina

Egfrid's antipathy to Wilfrid was, indeed, so strong, that it hunted him from a refuge which he found, first in Mercia, and afterwards in Wessex. An opening was not made for his return to Northumbria, until the king fell in battle. Archbishop Theodore was then sinking under age and infirmity. At such times, men think of others to carry on the work that has been done by themselves. Theodore had succeeded in fusing the British and Italian parties into one. Wilfrid seemed exactly the man to keep them so. The declining archbishop considered him the best informed of all his countrymen upon difficult questions of every kind, but especially upon those which had been decided at Rome.¹ He desired, accordingly, his company in London, where, in the presence of Erkenwald, bishop of that see, he begged him to look upon himself as the future archbishop of Canterbury. His own treatment of him in former times, when he consented to despoil him, Theodore laid upon a desire to please royal personages, and expressed himself very uneasy about it, because there was no offence to warrant it. He does not, however, seem to have reproached himself with any dereliction of duty towards the Roman see, or even with any canonical

de collo spoliati abstraxit, et in perniciem sui, sicut arcam Dei, per civitates ducens, per fidelem nuncium dimitte ei, et si nolueris, quod optimum est, illum in episcopatu habere, dimitte eum liberum de regno tuo cum suis, quocumque, voluerit abscedat. Tunc secundum meam fidem vita vivet regina, et non morietur: sin vero hoc renueris, Deo teste, non eritis impuniti." (Eddius, *XV. Script.* 71.) A story told with such perfect simplicity has very naturally given a fit of costiveness to Romish writers of a period less unsophisticated.

¹ "Veraciter in omni sapientiâ, et in judiciis Romanorum eruditissimum te vestræ gentis agnovi." *XV. Script.* 73.

irregularity—only with a severity that was desired at court, but which the suffering party had not merited. Wilfrid answered him by a prayer that he might be forgiven for the wrong suffered from him, and a declaration that he would never cease to pray for him, in consequence of his admitting it. He then begged him to send immediately information of the reconciliation between them to his friends in every quarter, who then would see that he had been unjustly despoiled, and might obey the pope so far as to restore some part, at least, of the substance which he had lost.¹

The letter which this conversation drew from Theodore has afforded room for controversy. After some customary forms, it paints Wilfrid as a meritorious character from his great missionary services. It then obscurely pleads for some indulgence to him, and mentions that such a favour was recommended by the Roman see.² This clause has been used in favour of

¹ "Primum mitte nuntios cum literis ubique ad amicos tuos, ut nostram reconciliationem in Domino, et me olim innoxium exspoliatum agnoscant; et mihi per tuam adjurationem in Domino, secundumque præceptum apostolicæ sedis, partem aliquam meæ substantiæ restituant." *Ibid.*

² The whole letter (which is not addressed to Wilfrid's own sovereign in Northumbria, but to a Mercian prince, who had given him a temporary shelter) is this. "Gloriosissimo et excellentissimo Ethelredo, regi Merciorum, Theodorus, gratiâ Dei archiepiscopus, in Domino perennem salutem. Cognoscat itaque, fili mi, tua miranda sanctitas, pacem me in Christo habere cum venerando episcopo Wilfrido, et idcirco te, carissime, paterna dilectione ammoneo, et in Christi charitate tibi præcipio, ut ejus sanctæ devotioni, quantum vires adjuvant, præstante Deo, patrocinium, sicut semper fecisti, quamdiu vivas, impendas: quia longo tempore propriis orbatus substantiis inter Paganos in Domino multum laboravit. Et idcirco ego Theodorus, humilis episcopus, decrepitâ ætate hoc tuæ Beatitudini suggero: quia apostolica hoc velut sanctis commendat auctoritas, ut ille supranominatus sanctissimus in patientiâ suâ, sicut dicit Scriptura, possideat animam suam, et injuriarum sibi injuste irrogatarum [immemor] humilis et mitis caput suum

the notion, that England, in Wilfrid's time, owned obedience to Rome.¹ But it is really brought in as a sort of make-weight. Nor does any subsequent part of Wilfrid's history favour the papal cause. His

Dominum Salvatorem sequens, et medicinam expetens, et si inveni gratiam in conspectu tuo, licet tibi pro longinquitate itineris durum esse videatur, oculi mei faciem tuam jucundam videant, et benedicat tibi anima mea antequam morior. Age ergo, fili mi, taliter de illo suprafato viro sanctissimo, sicut te deprecatus sum. Quod si patri tuo non longe de hoc seculo recessuro obedieris, multum tibi proficiet ad salutem. Vale in pace, vive in Christo, dege in Domino, Dominus sit tecum." *Ibid.* 74.

¹ "To prove that this reconciliation was not owing to any respect which the metropolitan paid to the papal authority, but solely to his esteem for the personal merit of Wilfrid, Carte sends his reader to the letter of Theodore to king Ethelred. Mr. Soames hints the same, quoting, as if it were Theodore's only reason, this passage, *quia longo tempore propriis orbatus substantiis inter Paganos in Domino multum laboravit.*" (Lingard, i. 396.) To overthrow this view, the clause is quoted, *quia apostolica hoc, sicut scis, commendat auctoritas*, and also this passage of Pope John's, *decretis pontificalibus obsecutus erat.* This papal language proves nothing but the progress of lofty pretensions at Rome. Of Theodore's own words, the clause cited in *The Anglo-Saxon Church* comes before that cited by Dr. Lingard; it is clearer, and the latter passage is built upon it. Theodore mentions Wilfrid's disinterested missionary services, and immediately proceeds; *and therefore I Theodore, &c. suggest.* Thus, if *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, instead of *hinting*, as Dr. Lingard thinks it does, that Theodore's reconciliation had been suggested by little or nothing else than Wilfrid's great missionary services, had plainly said so, it would have merely said what is warranted by the archbishop's own words. It is probable also that a desire to have Wilfrid for a successor weighed with Theodore. Eddy mentions nothing at the London conference but his concern for the treatment that Wilfrid had received, and his wish to be succeeded by him. Theodore's letters were written by Wilfrid's desire. One of them, not extant, was addressed to Alfrid, king of Northumbria, and adjured him to become reconciled to Wilfrid, *for the fear of the Lord, the precepts of prelates of the apostolic see, and the redemption of king Egfrid's soul.* If we had this letter, we should, probably, not find it breathe any more submission to the papacy than the extant letter to Ethelred. In this it may be observed, Dr. Lingard has *sicut scis*, where the whole letter copied in the preceding note has *velut sanctis*. Of these two readings the former, which appears to be the better, is Malmesbury's. But the passage either way is of very little importance. It is not such a one as would have been written, if papal jurisdiction over England had been acknowledged.

case undoubtedly shows every where, what all students of ecclesiastical history know perfectly well, that references or appeals to Rome (whichever of the two words may be preferred) were known in those times. But it also shows that information and advice, not a judicial sentence, were sought from the Roman bishop and his assessors. Papal decisions were invariably favourable to Wilfrid, but English authorities, whether ecclesiastical or civil, would not obey them.¹ It is true that both of the archbishops, who resisted him, sent messengers to Rome to justify their conduct. But men who take measures for standing fair in a quarter which they respect, cannot be thereby convicted of owning it for a master. Wilfrid was charged with misrepresentation and corruption. Regard for their own characters, therefore, made his opponents wish to neutralise accounts from him by some of their own. They thought very highly of

¹ "According to Mr. Soames, the appeals of Wilfrid were treated uniformly with contempt, not only by the civil authorities, but also by the ecclesiastical." (Lingard, i. 307.) As a counterpoise we read, — "Instead of opposing the introduction of appeals, both of them (the archbishops Theodore and Brightwald) acknowledged the lawfulness of the practice, and sent messengers to Rome to support their own decisions against the appeals of Wilfrid." But did Roman influence in Wilfrid's favour make them alter their decisions? There is no controversy upon the existence of appeals to Rome, only upon the nature of them. Wilfrid's history is conclusive against later Romanist theories of them. They give occasion for one more charge against *The Anglo-Saxon Church*. Carte seems to have said, that the synod at Nidd was not guided in its decision by the papal decree. Mr. Soames hints the same. He never read Carte, and on reconsidering the passage, can recollect no intention of giving a hint of any kind when it was written, or now see any trace of a hint in it. But Eddy does not make the decision at the Nidd to turn upon the pope's interference. It turned upon intentions expressed by the late king, with which the prelates were not easily brought to comply.

Rome as the best-informed place in Christendom, and of its bishop as the first of Christian prelates. A majority of the Protestant English exiles, during the Marian persecution, considered, in like way, "the Genevan Church the purest reformed church in Christendom," and its chief pastor, Calvin, as the first authority among Christian ministers. Hence an appeal was made to him from Frankfort, in 1554, when disputes ran high about the Book of Common Prayer. And even the liturgical party sent him an excuse for settling their congregation, before his advice had been asked.¹ It would, however, be most erroneous to argue from these facts, that English Protestantism was under subjection to Calvin and the church of Geneva. Any one who should reason in this way would be most easily confuted by the records of history. By such records also may any one be refuted, who maintains the subjection of England to Papal Rome in the seventh century. No case more clearly establishes refutation of this kind, than that of Wilfrid. Indeed, neither that remarkable man himself, nor any one of his friends, appears ever to have represented English questions as determinable by the pope.

That Roman judgments were not esteemed binding in England, appears also from the final settlement of Wilfrid's case at the synod of the Nidd. Brightwald, the archbishop, who had sided with his opponents in the former synod of Estrefield, in this took his part. He gave him the benefit of repeating that

¹ Twisden's *Historical Vindication*, 10.

language of a former pope in his favour, which has been called an authoritative excommunication, and represented as a proof that England owed obedience to the Roman see. This language, however, was evidently understood as merely comminatory, not as decretory. Brightwald concluded by saying, *these are the judgments of the apostolic see, laid before you in brief speech.* The prelates who opposed Wilfrid asked in reply: *What was determined by our predecessors formerly, Theodore, the archbishop, sent from the apostolic see, and King Egfrid; and what afterwards we judged in the field, which is called Estrefield, with the bishops of almost all Britain, the most excellent archbishop himself, and King Alfrid; how can one change?* According to modern Romish notions, a change was imperative, and Brightwald had actually brought himself to some sort of one, as his brother-prelates delicately hinted. Of a disposition to follow his example, they did not show a symptom. It could scarcely have been so, if papal jurisdiction had been established in England, and if the papal anathema had not been understood as a mere commination. The issue of this conference was favourable to Wilfrid, but not upon any ground useful to papal advocacy. *Elfleda, most saintly abbess, said from her blessed mouth: I truly say in Christ the will of King Alfrid, in that sickness which brought him to the end of life, when he vowed this vow to God and St. Peter: If I live, I will fulfil all the judgments of the apostolic see, which I heretofore refused to hear, respecting the saintly bishop Wilfrid. But if I die, nevertheless tell my heir in the Lord's name, that for my soul's remedy he fulfil*

the judgment. Elfreda's account bears all the marks of truth. Her dying nephew was, probably, haunted by a fear lest St. Peter, whom those barbarous times regarded as the literal janitor of heaven, should shut him out in revenge for his contempt of that apostle's alleged successor. This is, however, an evidence of prevailing intellectual grossness, not of any established legal principle. The fact, attested by Elfreda, seems to have been known; for the king left a child, who was not placed upon his throne without considerable difficulty. While the struggle was at its height, the royal boy's adherents solemnly pledged themselves to espouse Wilfrid's cause, if they should succeed. They came forward to redeem this pledge, after Elfreda's speech. The bishops, however, were not so easily convinced; but, after a time, the archbishop and Elfreda overcame their opposition.¹ This pertinacity could scarcely have been seen, if they knew the papal see to possess rights over England, or if they considered its anathema as an authoritative excommunication. They must, indeed, have been aware, that such maledictions were the fashion of the day. Wilfrid, king of Kent, had recently made use of one.² Yet he did not pass for any spiritual authority, endowed with a heavenly privilege to bind and loose.

If the Roman see have authority over the domestic

¹ Eddius, *XV. Script.* 86.

² *If any king ever after us raised to the kingdom, or bishop, or abbot, or earl, or any human power, shall contradict this charter, or attempt to infringe it, let him know himself sequestered from the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so excommunicated as to have no remission either in this world or the next, unless he shall first have fully given satisfaction by the bishop's judgment.* Spelman, *Concilia*, &c. 190.

arrangements of foreign countries, it must properly possess the privileges, or most of them, that were claimed for it by Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., and have been since maintained by many eminent Romanists. A power to decree, but none to execute, is a scabbard without a sword. The exercise of such a power within the Roman Church merely comes to this: that foreign states will gladly receive a formal confirmation from Rome to such things as are approved by themselves, but will not suffer the refusal of such confirmation to overrule their own principles of government. The ultra-papal divines reason, therefore, far more consistently, upon questions of polity, than the very learned, candid, and able writers of the Gallican school. These latter cling to the Roman bishop in a certain way, because he is the key-stone of the arch that supports their theology. It is not to be found in Scripture, it has been repeatedly hunted out of tradition, and hence can turn to no certain support but church-authority. Of this no form, adequate to Romish exigencies, can be descried apart from the papacy. Gallican theology therefore, in some things, timidly looks up to the Vatican, but in others it boldly opens the treasures of literature, and shivers papal pretensions into dust. Thus Bossuet, who served Romanism essentially by a specious but hollow defence of it as a system of divinity, exposed conclusively the despotic maxims of papal jurisprudence. These he rightly traces up to the domineering and arrogant spirit of Gregory VII.¹ Long before that

¹ "De tous les papes, Grégoire VII. est le premier, qui, à la fin du XI. siècle, c'est à dire, l'an 1076, qui est la date de son III. concile

remarkable prelate's time, had the Roman bishops been respected as heads of the Christian religion, vicars of Christ, and successors of Peter. But notwithstanding this conventional estimation, they were viewed merely as assertors and defenders of sound religious belief. As individuals, they lived in subserviency to the emperors, whose consent was necessary to their appointment, and who controlled all their administration. These sovereigns they viewed as entirely above their judgments and decrees. Nor do they appear to have been tempted into a different cast of thought by the civil importance which resulted from their services to the Carlovingian kings. It was Hildebrand who put a new face upon the see of Rome. Had no particular opportunities come in his way, that overbearing prelate's pride and restlessness might have spent themselves within the bounds of his own profession. But he could lean on Norman aid; he had obtained an absolute ascendancy over Matilda, known from her territorial importance as *the great countess*; and hence, within his own Italy, he felt little apprehension of imperial power. Still it might have reached him, had not his imprudent sovereign been bewildered and weakened by the distractions of Germany.¹ These completed Hildebrand's feeling of secu-

de Rome, ait pû se persuader que le pouvoir de lier et de délier qu'il avoit reçu de Jésus Christ, le mettoit en droit de parler ainsi en plein concile contre Henri IV. du nom, roi des Teutons et de l'Italie, *Je lui ôte son royaume; j'absous ses sujets du serment de fidélité, et je leur défends de le servir comme roi.* On ne trouve dans tous les siècles qui ont précédé Grégoire VII. aucun exemple d'une semblable sentence." Bossuet, i. 141.

¹ "Ceci me donne occasion de raconter un fait digne d'être rapporté, qu'on trouve dans l'auteur contemporain qui a composé l'apologie du roi Henri IV. Il dit qu'une multitude de Lombards, de François, de

rity, and emboldened him to take up a position which no churchman had ever ventured upon before. To the sovereign power he was, at least, indebted for confirmation in the Roman see, if not for election to it. But he could only think of present opportunities to indulge an ambitious, fiery temperament. Hence he took upon himself not only to excommunicate his prostrate sovereign, but also to pronounce him deprived of the crown. This assumption completely altered the Roman see's position. Hitherto it had never presumed to take any other adverse measures against sovereigns, deemed immoral in practice, or unsound in belief, than to decline communion with them. If they were unmoved by this, the Roman bishops left their cases to the righteous judgment of heaven.¹

Bavarois, et de Suèves, ayant formé leur complot avec les Saxons révoltés, s'adressèrent à Grégoire VII. et qu'après plusieurs accusations formées contre le roi, ils ajoutèrent, *qu'il ne convenoit pas qu'un prince aussi méchant, et plus connu par ses crimes que par son nom, portât la couronne, surtout puisqu'il ne l'avoit pas reçu de la main des Romains, qu'il étoit à propos de rendre à Rome son ancien droit d'établir les rois, et qu'ainsi le pape et les Romains devoient avec les seigneurs faire choix d'un prince que son mérite et sa vertu rendissent digne d'une si haute dignité.* Sur quoi l'auteur fait cette réflexion : *Le pape trompé par ce discours, et agréablement flatté par l'offre, honorable en apparence, et captieuse en effet, que lui faisoient ces révoltés d'élire, lui-même un roi, excommunia Henri, et ordonna aux évêques et aux autres princes, de se séparer de sa communion.*" Bossuet, i. 156.

¹ "Omittere non possum quin addam insignem Onuphrii Panvini locum, *Nam etsi Romani pontifices, tanquam Christianæ religionis capita, Christique vicarii, et Petri successores colerentur, non tamen eorum auctoritas ultra protendebatur, quam in fidei dogmatibus vel asserendis vel tuendis. Cæterum imperatoribus suberant, ad eorum nutum omnia fiebant, ab iis creabantur, de iis judicare vel quidquam decernere non audebat papa Romanus. Primus omnium Romanorum pontificum Gregorius VII. armis Normanorum fretus, opibus comitissæ Mathildis, mulieris per Italiam potentissimæ, confisus, discordiaque Germanorum principum bello civili laborantium inflammatus, præter majorum morem, contempta imperatoris auctoritate et potestate, cum summum pontificatum obtinuisset, Cæsarem ipsum, a quo, si non electus, saltem confirmatus*

Hildebrand could not rest without assuming a power to punish their disobedience by a decree of temporal forfeiture. He thus placed the papal see in a position to hurl firebrands among the subjects of princes who should defy its authority.

Offensive and pernicious as this position is, it naturally resulted from the Decretals. If these records had been genuine, Gregory VII. would really have been far from unjustifiable in putting forth his exorbitant claims. But such consequences do not seem in Gregory's days to have been usually drawn from the pseudo-Isidore's ingenious fictions. At all events, men could not see their principles embodied in practice without enquiring whether any such use had been made of them before. Even staunch adherents of the papacy asked this question. Thus Herman, bishop of Metz, called for precedents and authorities. Hildebrand's answer to the call stamps him as an innovator. He could not connect his conduct with apostolic times, without producing an authority which is irrelevant, and spurious besides.¹

fuera, non dicam excommunicare, sed etiam regno imperioque privare ausus est. Res ante ea sæcula inaudita : nam fabulas, quæ de Arcadio, Anastasio, et Leone iconomacho circumferuntur, nihil moror : satisque hinc apparet, eos reges atque imperatores, qui justa injustave de causâ censuris istis positivis se subtrahunt, Divino judicio relinquendos." Grotius, *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra*, *Opp.* iv. 254.

¹ "Toute la tradition de Grégoire consiste dans un seul passage, encore est-il tiré de la lettre apocryphe de saint Clément sur son ordination, dont voici les paroles, *Celui qui est ami de ceux à qui Clément refuse de parler, est du nombre de ces hommes qui veulent détruire l'église de Dieu.* Il est clair comme le jour que ce discours, quand il seroit de l'apôtre saint Pierre, à qui il est attribué, prouveroit à la vérité, qu'on ne doit pas se lier d'amitié avec les schismatiques, mais non qu'il faut leur refuser l'obéissance légitime." Bossuet, i. 145.

His early instances are mere exclusions from communion, or from entering the church.¹ To enlist in his cause Gregory the Great, he cites privileges granted by him to certain religious foundations. Two such have been produced, but in them occurs nothing more than the comminatory or imprecatory language, commonly used by founders, whether clerical or lay, in that age, and long after.¹ He would

¹ They are those of the emperors Theodosius and Arcadius. The former prince had lent himself to an atrocious massacre at Thessalonica; and Ambrose told him that, before his solemn penitence, it was impossible to take the sacrament with him, or even worship in the same church with him. He actually met him at the church door, and hindered him from entering. The alleged case of Arcadius appears to be unfounded, and, if it were otherwise, would amount to a mere exclusion from the communion.

² He says in his answer to Herman of Metz, who wanted to know how objectors to his new assumptions were to be satisfied: *Let them learn that in the register of blessed Gregory, in the privileges which he bestowed upon certain churches, he not only excommunicated kings and dukes going counter to his words, but also judged that they should be deprived of their dignity.* (Labb. et Coss. x. 149.) Hildebrand seems to have had two foundations in his eye, namely, the abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, and an hospital at Autun. Some have considered the documents produced by these houses supposititious; but Mabillon (*De Re Diplom.* 104.) gives sufficient reason for believing them genuine. Both that learned Benedictine and Bossuet treat them as mere imprecatory forms, such as were usual in early times in deeds of gift, and even upon tombs, to deter posterity from disturbing the party's remains. The spirit which dictated such forms induced Wilfrid's opponents, at or after the synod of Estrefield, to enact that any provision for a meal, blessed by one of his party, was to be thrown out of doors, like something offered to an idol; and any vessel used by such a person was to be washed like a polluted thing before it was used by any body else. Eddy thus heads the chapter, which communicates this information, *De excommunicatione nostrâ.* (*XV. Script.* 77.) Dr. Lingard asks contemptuously, because Pope Agatho's decision in favour of Wilfrid is not represented as decretory, "Do canonists, when they are consulted, excommunicate those who do not adopt their opinion?" (i. 136.) He may be referred to this and other things to show that, in Wilfrid's time, excommunications of a certain sort were by no means confined to popes; and the excommunication mentioned in the *Bampton Lectures* for 1830 is pretty clearly of that particular sort.

also, as has been remarked before, make Childeric's deposition to have been a papal act; whereas, in truth, it was carried by the Frankish legislature, which gladly pleaded papal approbation to screen its own treachery and injustice. Thus Hildebrand, when put upon his defence, could find no real precedents whatever. Romanists allege, and with apparent reason, that he was not fully aware of this. He, probably, did not know the Decretals to be forgeries; and his acute mind must have seen that powers claimed in them for the papacy were nullities without such safeguards as he strove to set up. Of the critical and historical errors to which he committed himself, his age knew little or nothing. Hildebrand was therefore, in all probability, to a great extent, misled. But granting this does no more than exonerate him personally from a share of blame, it is any thing rather than an advantage to the principles that he maintained. Enquirers must infer from his own language that no precedents for them were in existence. Now Hildebrand began upon his memorable career just after the Anglo-Saxon period closed. It follows, therefore, that during its course no such dependence on the papal see as Romish exigencies need had been established. The Decretals, and other impositions favourable to Rome, were indeed in operation; but they had merely taken hold. A master-spirit was wanted to develop them; no one came forward before Gregory VII. astonished Western Europe, and Norman William had overthrown the Anglo-Saxon state.

CHAPTER XI.

EUCCHARISTIC QUESTIONS.

The real presence generally admitted. — Primitive administration of the Holy Supper. — Christian worship modified to meet objections. — Difficulties that hence arose. — Gradual progress of sacerdotal principles. — Rise of a belief in transubstantiation. — Romish missal service. — Eucharistic movements in the ninth century. — Alfred's alleged patronage of Erigena. — Paschasius Radbert. — Mabillon's representation of his doctrine. — Its occasional unsuitableness to modern Romanism. — Other evidence against missal principles. — Nature of the service rendered to them by Radbert. — Difficulties in Erigena's history. — Alfred's patronage of him most probable. — Elfric. — His view of the canon of scripture. — His eucharistic doctrine. — Its consonance with earlier theology.

UPON Christ's real presence to faithful communicants in the Eucharist, there is no question among the majority of his disciples. But consequences may be drawn from this doctrine, and have been, upon which religious minds extremely disagree. People have been unable to keep themselves from speculating upon the manner of our Lord's eucharistic presence, and consequently upon the sort of substance which it leaves or engenders. In this case, as in that of spiritual influences over the mind, man's vanity, or curiosity, has been unable to content itself within limits of our Lord's own tracing, and judge of operations by effects. The enthusiastic claimant of internal illumination must be sure whence cometh his

frame of mind, and *whither it goeth*.¹ He cannot judge of heavenly motions merely by acts of substantial goodness, as he knows where the wind lies from hearing it in that quarter. So men commonly would not rest in considering those partakers of their blessed Master's body and blood in the Eucharist, whose lives are like his. They must rack their brains as to some substantial change in the elements, effected by this sacrament, as to the precise nature of such a change, as to the power privileged to effect it, and as to the exact moment of it. When all these enquiries were answered, as such enquiries always are, so to please the human mind, it soon built upon them a variety of doctrines and usages, which minister to the pride of man's heart, the gratification of his senses, and the lulling of his conscience.

In apostolic times, nothing could be more simple than the eucharistic worship of Christians. They seem to have met, literally for a supper, like that which Christ ate with his disciples before he suffered. For consecrating the sacred symbols, the Lord's Prayer only was used. His language in instituting the solemnity was, probably, always introduced at table. Deliverance from Egyptian bondage regularly found conversation for a Jewish paschal supper. After a time the words of Christ, which later ages have considered words of consecration, seem to have been solemnly pronounced by the officiator, together with three prayers.² When obedience to our Lord's

¹ *St. John*, iii. 8. "Nescis unde veniat, aut quo vadat." *Vulg.*

² Platina says, that Sixtus I., who became Roman bishop early in the second century, made some additions, which are specified, to the

command could no longer be engrafted with propriety upon a religious meal, this extreme simplicity was necessarily given up. A church ceremony must necessarily differ from a pious repast. Formalities were demanded by the former, which would have been unseasonable in the latter. Other grafts upon the eucharistic supper gradually arose from the objections of heathenism. Christians were taunted with impiety, from wanting all the external appliances of a religious community. Why are you, they were asked, without altars, temples, and images?¹ Arnobius meets questions of this kind by a general disclaimer of sacrificial worship.² But prejudices ran

eucharistic services which at first were naked and managed in a simple manner; for when Peter consecrated, he used the prayer *Pater noster*. (*De Vitis Pontiff.* 15.) He attributes to this prelate the lines, *animula vagula, &c.*, which have given rise to *Vital spark, &c.*; but does not speak positively about it. Gregory the Great attributes to all the apostles the practice of consecrating the eucharist by the Lord's Prayer only; a fact which Hospinian says he learnt from Jerome, whose words that author cites. Durand says that our Lord instituted the supper by using only the words of consecration, to which the apostles added the Lord's Prayer. Innocent III. says, *The blessed apostle Peter is said to have celebrated mass at Antioch, in which three prayers only were said in the beginning of the rising church*. Hospinian, *Historia Sacramentaria*, Tigur. 1598, p. 14.

¹ "Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra?" (Minuc. Felix. Lugd. Bat. 1672, p. 91.) In this part you (pagans) usually fix upon us the greatest charge of impiety, that we neither build sacred edifices for the offices of worship, nor set up the image or figure of any one of the gods; do not fabricate altars of any kind ("non altaria, non aras"); do not give the blood of slain animals; make no use of frankincense, or salt cakes, or pour the flowing wine from goblets. (Arnobius, Hamb. 1610, p. 112.) Mede maintains that *altare* is properly an altar of the true God, but that *ara* is an altar for idols. He throws out a conjecture that Arnobius might have added *aras*, "by way of correction to his word *altaria*." (*Works*, Lond. 1677, p. 392.) The classical writers usually restrict *altare* to the gods above, excluding it from the infernal gods; but they sometimes disregard this distinction. It is pretty clear that Arnobius, in this passage, disclaims altars of any kind.

² What then, somebody will say, do you think that no sacrifices are to

so strongly in its favour, that Christians became eager for a compromise. Hence they found eventually both altars and sacrifices for them by means of the Eucharist. Bishops, or presidents, together with presbyters, officiated at its administration, as heathen priests did at sacrifices around, and as had been done by the high priest, with ordinary priests, in the temple at Jerusalem. A company, met to receive the Lord's Supper, severally brought bread and wine for celebrating it. These elements, therefore, were provided for God's service, and placed upon his table. Thus openings were made for drawing analogies between the new system and those old ones which it was aiming to supersede. Offered bread and wine had been reckoned by the Jews among sacrifices.¹ The table, therefore, which was used in giving them their eucharistic character, not inaptly recalled the notion of an altar. But heathen objections could not be thus met without opening a door to old errors and abuses. That expiatory worship which Isaiah especially condemns, found an entrance into the church. Christians would not hear at first of any other than high spiritual grounds.

be offered at all. To answer you, not from our notion, but from your Varro's:—None. Arnobius, 125.

¹ Sacrifices, among the ancient Jews, were either of an animal, or a vegetable nature. The former were the victims to be slain, the latter were sometimes to be used as libations at animal sacrifices; at other times they were offered by themselves. The shew-bread, among other things, was classed among these latter sacrifices. An offering of this kind was called *mincha* in Hebrew, and in Latin *fertum*. From the latter word comes *offertory*, or that preparation for the eucharist which consisted in the offering of bread and wine. Abarbanel, *Exordium Comment. in Levitic.* Lond. 1683, pp. 243. 249. Du Cange, in *voc. Offertorium*.

What image, asks Minucius Felix, can I make for God, since man himself, to think correctly, is God's image? What temple can I build for him, since this whole world, made by his workmanship, cannot contain him? And when I, a man, can stay at large, can I shut up a power of so much majesty within one small oratory? Is he not better to be dedicated in our mind, consecrated in our inmost breast? Can I offer what he has given for my use, as sacrifices and victims to the Lord, and gracelessly throw back upon him his own gift? A sacrifice that gains its end is a good disposition, and a pure mind, and a clear conscience. He, therefore, who cultivates innocence, makes an oblation to the Lord; who, justice, a libation to God: he who abstains from frauds, propitiates God; who snatches a man from danger, slays a choice victim. These are our sacrifices, these the sacred things of God. So with us he is the more religious man who is the juster.¹ If Christians had not gradually learnt a very different language, material sacrifice would never have been heard of in the church. Her final triumph would, however, thus have been delayed. Rather than wait, she sought help from a few metaphors, and spoke of the eucha-

¹ "Quod enim simulacrum Deo fingam, cum, si recte existimes, sit Dei homo ipse simulacrum? Templum quod ei extruam, cum totus hic mundus, ejus opere fabricatus, eum capere non possit? Et cum homo latius maneam, intra unam ædicolam vim tantæ majestatis includam? Nonne melius in nostrâ dedicandus est mente: in nostro imo consecrandus est pectore? Hostias et victimas Domino offeram, quas in usum mei protulit, ut rejiciam ei suum munus? ingratum est: cum sit litabilis hostia, bonus animus, et pura mens, et sincera conscientia. Igitur qui innocentiam colit, Domino supplicat; qui justitiam, Deo libat; qui fraudibus abstinere, propitiatur Deum; qui hominem periculo subripit, optimam victimam cedit. Hæc nostra sacrificia, hæc Dei sacra sunt: sic apud nos religiosior est ille, qui justior." Min. Fel. Octav. Lugd. Bat. 1672, p. 315.

rist as an improved continuance of the old sacrificial worship.

After a time, eucharistic figures were turned into realities. The term *temple* had been considered odious, because it generally denoted some heathen place of worship. When the Church, accordingly, triumphed under Constantine, *basilicæ*, or edifices built for courts of justice, were given up to some of her principal congregations. The semi-circular termination, or apse, against which rose a bench for the judge and his assessors, was exactly fitted for rendering the same service for the bishop and his presbyters. The table in front of the bench was the very thing for a communion table. The rails, or open screen beyond, which shut off the body of the court, completely fell in with prevailing notions, that only a select number should ever be allowed near the Lord's table. A prejudice in favour of these arrangements continued long after objections to the term *temple* died away, and many ancient churches are still to be seen abroad retaining the features of an old Roman court of justice.¹ Principles were less tenacious of their hold.

¹ The cathedral at Nantes is a tolerably perfect specimen of an anciently arranged church, at no very great distance from England. The nave is very lofty, and of the fifteenth century. There is no choir, in the modern acceptation of that word. Beyond the transept is a portion of the church, terminating in an apse, and said to be, as it seems truly, of the eleventh century. Round the apse are arranged stalls, with a larger canopied one in the centre, for the bishop. The altar has no screen at the back; there is a space before it which answers to the *solea* of the Greek churches, perhaps fifteen feet across, slightly raised above the nave, and railed off from it. Beyond this space are two steps leading to the altar. The stalls are beyond, in the apse. In other churches farther south in France, the old arrangements are continued; but the place which should be occupied by the bishop's stall in the centre of the

Christians became willing to talk of their temples, because they thought of the temple at Jerusalem. A fondness for analogies from that quarter also brought up a habit of comparing a bishop with the high priest, and a presbyter with an ordinary priest. As for communion tables, they were gradually commuted, in most places, into stone altars; an usage probably suggested by the casings to the graves of martyrs in the catacombs; but it helped forward a change of doctrine. The offerings, from which the eucharistic elements were selected, and the poor relieved, also made way for such a change. They became known as *the sacrifice*¹, though a mere fragment of the old sacrificial system. It may, however, soon be plainly seen, that such modes of engrafting Christian worship upon the old temple service, labour under very strong

apse, is filled by handsome folding doors, or something else, which really is out of place.

¹ Cyprian gives this name to them. *You are wealthy and rich*, he says; *and think you keep the Lord's day; you who do not regard the corban at all* ("quæ corbonam omnino non respicis") *who come into the Lord's house without a sacrifice, who take a part of the sacrifice which a poor person has offered.* (Cæcil. Cypr. de Opere et Eleemosynis, *Opp.* Brem. 1690, p. 203.) In this passage it may be observed that *corban* the general Hebrew term for an oblation, is used. In the Mozarabic mass *sacrificium* stands for the *offertory*, or short Latin hymn, sung at offering time. (*Bibl. PP.* vi. 125.) The *Mincha* sacrifice however, though unbloody, was not considered transferable from the temple, any more than other portions of the sacrificial service. Buxtorf says (*in voce מנח*) that when the temple was destroyed, the great synagogue substituted for that sacrifice a form of prayer. Christian eagerness, therefore, to set up something like the sacrificial system, had really as little to defend it in the old dispensation, as it had in the new. An opening was given to the principle of material offerings by the practice that evidently prevailed at first, of grafting the eucharist upon a religious meal, to which individuals brought their own provisions. (1 *Cor.* xi. 21.) When this repast was made more strictly ritual, the parties undoubtedly still brought materials for the holy supper, and might easily get into a habit of considering them as oblations.

suspicion. Scripture says very little, most people think nothing, in their favour, and external circumstances do not countenance them. On the contrary, the Mosaic system had but one temple, and could not have another after that one was destroyed. It is, therefore, not very obvious, that a multitude of Christian churches naturally grew out of the solitary temple in ancient Israel. They seem rather to be successors of the synagogues, which were spread all over the country. Nor, again, does a body of bishops, taken out of innumerable families, and fulfilling functions common to a whole order of men, bear any very close resemblance to a single high priest, who was the representative of one particular family, and exclusively performed certain very peculiar duties. Nor, besides, do numberless presbyters, who spring from every portion of society, and fulfil duties allowable in every place, appear much like the successors of a priesthood strictly hereditary, and set apart for sacrificial offices, which could only be performed at Jerusalem. No attentive mind can fix upon these two cases without seeing them to be very strikingly divided. The distinction, however, seems in a great measure to have been overlooked by early theologians. They got into a habit of describing Christian ministers as priests. The want of scriptural countenance for such language, Grotius acutely remarks, could not have been without an object.¹ In seeking

¹ "Ut autem præcones Novi Testamenti sacerdotes speciatim appellantur, est quidem receptum antiqua Ecclesiæ consuetudine, sed non de nihilo est quod ab eo loquendi genere et Christus ipse, et apostoli semper abstinuerunt." De Imperio summarum Potestatum circa Sacra, *Opp.* iv. 210.

one, he adverts to the necessity for some strong provision against such errors as prevailed in ancient Israel. He considers the Mosaic ritual to have been made so elaborate as it was, because nothing short of excessive care could keep the people from falling into downright heathenism. But having this cumbrous ritual, the Jews confided in it for spiritual safety, overlooking internal excellence.¹ Had sacrifices been sometimes offered by royal hands, as they were in other countries, their efficacy might have been rated still more highly.² But as none of the highest rank could officiate at the altar, people might think of times when Melchisedec and other princes did so. In looking for such times again, expectation would naturally fix upon the Messiah.³ Grotius does not go on to express any opinion as to why the new dispensation abstains from using terms that occur constantly in the old. He merely argues from such abstinence, against a promiscuous use of these terms, there being really very considerable differences between the two things.⁴ The two things, however, are considered as really no great way apart, both by members of the church of Rome, and by some who

¹ " Illi spem omnem salutis in illis ritibus ponere cœperunt: a qua dementissima persuasione sæpissime illos revocant sancti, ostenduntque misericordiam, hoc est, animi integritatem, multo magis Deo placere quam sacrificia." De Imperio summarum Potestatum circa Sacra, *Opp.* 209.

² " Quod si sacra potissima nemo nisi rex fecisset, ut olim fieri consueverat, multo sane magis ipsorum animi hæsisset defixi in tanta sacerdotii majestate." *Ibid.*

³ " Ita nimirum lex quasi manu ad Christum deduxit." *Ibid.*

⁴ " Idque satis esse debet ad nos admonendos ne passim atque promiscue a sacerdotibus Leviticis ad Evangelii ministros argumentum ducamus, cum et in ipso munere, et in modo personas designandi latum sit discrimen." *Ibid.* 210.

are not so. The very learned non-juror, Dr. George Hickes, finds a reason for the deficiency that Grotius remarks, by supposing our Lord and his Apostles unwilling to use language that might look like taking possession of the temple, or superseding it, so long as the temple stood.¹ As we have a fact, without any other than conjectural means of accounting for it, Hickes has as much right to hazard an opinion as any other scholar. In confirmation of his view, Mosheim dates a sacerdotal tone in the church from the destruction of Jerusalem, after it had been rebuilt by Adrian, or thereabouts.² But however true

¹ "This forbearance of the holy penmen to use the Greek words for *temple*, when they spoke of the places appropriated to Christian worship, as well as their long silence of our Saviour's priesthood, and omitting in Greek to call his ministers priests, seems to proceed from one common cause; I mean, from some regard they had to the Jewish religion, which principally consisted in the temple-æconomy and priesthood, that was in being not only when our Lord, the founder of the new Sion and new Jerusalem, was upon earth, but was also to continue for some time after his ascension, till the destruction of the old temple and the old Jerusalem, which happened about seventy-two years after his birth, and thirty-nine after his ascension." (*Of the Christian Priesthood*, Lond. 1707, p. 139.) *The long silence* as to our Lord's priesthood means that his doctrine is not known to have been taught before the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, which Hickes considers to have been about thirty years after the ascension. He does not cite any confirmation of his opinion as to the silence of Scripture upon points which he would have been glad to see enforced there. Bellarmine, however, says, *It is no obstacle that in the New Testament ecclesiastical ministers are not called priests, for the reason is at hand. Because in the time of the Apostles the Jewish priesthood flourished still, and bloody sacrifices were offered in the temple at Jerusalem; the Apostles, inspired by the Lord, did not use the names of priesthood, sacrifice, temple, altar, and like things, that Christian sacred rites might be more easily distinguished from Jewish, and lest they should be thought, if they used the same words, to renew or confirm those same rites. But when the temple at Jerusalem was overthrown soon after, and the sacrifices of the Hebrews were altogether done away with, the oldest Fathers began freely to use the names, temple, altar, priest, and sacrifice, as the matter in hand required.* De Missa, *Opp.* iii. 332.

² *Institutes*, Lond. 1845, i. 161. Mosheim cites no authority.

this may be, it does not follow that Christian claims to a Levitical character had purposely been kept back before, from a fear of offending the Jews. It might indeed be, that many Christians considered the new system as merely a reformed continuance of the old; and that so long as this latter retained its splendour, they could contentedly wait until such splendour should regularly become their own. When Jerusalem

Any direct one of the contemporary date is, probably, not to be found. The last note will, however, show that he makes a statement which is generally admitted. Joseph Mede, accordingly, says of the church, "whilst the Jews' polity stood, her polity, for its full establishment, stood in some sort suspended." (*Works*, 360.) But such language merely amounts to begging the question. If the sacrificial system is not to be found in the New Testament, which its friends universally admit, how can any body know that it was ever meant for Christians?

It may be added that Anglican usage involves no admission of sacerdotalism. *Priest* is, undoubtedly, a term constantly employed. But it is derived from *presbyter*. The Anglo-Saxons made *preost* of this word. *Sacerd* stands in their New Testament for a Jewish priest. Sometimes they seem to have applied the term *sacerdas* to their own clergy. The Bodleian MS. (Junius, 22. f. 200.), has an article headed *Be Sacerdum*, that is, about sacerdotal persons; but it goes on immediately to *mass-priests*. The word *sacerd* is then said to be Greek, and to mean in Latin *sacrum dans* (*thæt is, Grecise word, and is on Leden, sacrum dans*). This amusing piece of information is not followed by any notice that the *sacerd* is to be a sacrificer. We are only told that he is to *give holiness to the folk to which he is appointed a teacher and pastor; that is, he shall exhibit to men holy ministrations and examples. (He sceal sylle halignesse tham folce the he to lareowe and to hyrde geset byth; thæt is, thæt he sceal halge theawas, and bysena mannum ætowian.)* Nothing follows but considerations to alarm clergymen if they neglected their duty. Thus it might seem that the real nature of a levitical priest was not understood by the Anglo-Saxons, but that they had hastily taken up a notion from the Fathers, of something like an identity between priests under the old dispensation, and presbyters under the new. They retained, however, the advantage of two words to designate the two things; and in time, as information opened the minds of men, might have suspected a difference between the two. Their posterity have not been so fortunate. *Preost* or *presbyter* has swallowed up *sacerd*, and people have hence fallen into a careless habit of thinking only of the *priest*. The *presbyter*, or Christian minister, who alone is in the eye of Scripture, is altogether overlooked.

fell, they might think the time come for throwing off reserve, and claiming an Aaronic succession for Christian ministers. It may, however, be thrown out as another conjecture, that Scripture abstains from giving any Levitical appearance to the new dispensation, because men were to be weaned from reliance upon formalities which wore an expiatory look. The Jews had some excuse for falling into this cast of thought, because their worship chiefly turned upon a great future expiation. But when this was offered, all occasion for typifying it vanished, and man's eagerness for vicarious religion could be thoroughly rebuked. Hence the typical system could only be served by a particular family, and at a particular place. Providence annihilated all traces of the family, and overthrew the place. The meaning of these things may be the same as that of the silence which Grotius considered significant in Scripture. Both may be meant for making it seen, that all external offerings for sin are come to an end.

This view of sacerdotal questions does not affect existing arrangements. It only places all orders of the clergy upon such grounds as that no doctrines can be drawn from their commission. In spite of this, a hierarchy may be maintained, and firmly too, as a matter of expediency, and as countenanced sufficiently by the ecclesiastical discipline of a very early date. In adapting themselves to the wants of society as it stands, hierarchical principles fulfil duties that are legitimate and most important. Nor would liberal minds often be alienated from them, if they had not been invested by eager partisans with a

privilege to offer terms for reconciling sinners with God, which are not offered in the New Testament. It is obvious, however, that such estimates of clerical functions could not have prevailed at once. Sufficient room must have been very gradually made for great practical principles, uncontained in the New Testament; freely produced, at the earliest, when Jerusalem finally fell; and impeded by the habits of earlier years. Records prove this conclusion to be just. Notwithstanding man's love of ritual pomp and vicarious religion, ecclesiastical history shows these twin brothers to have gained possession of the public mind by no rapid, bold, or decisive efforts. They stole marches, rather than won them. Nor was ever an important step taken openly by them, without exciting immediately a storm of opposition. One of these storms, though raised in Gaul, has left a powerful impress upon the theology of England. Pains had been taken early to make men distinguish the sacramental elements from common bread and wine. Use, by faithful communicants, at the Lord's table, had converted them into the body and blood of Christ. When a conviction of this was generally established, curious minds began to ask, were eucharistic substances become the same body and blood that had been taken of the Virgin Mary? This question was answered affirmatively by Paschasius Radbert, a monk in the great Benedictine abbey at Corbie, in Picardy. Eventually he became abbot of that house. His language, it is admitted by Romish writers, was more precise and full than any that had been publicly used upon the subject before; but his

doctrine, they maintain, had been established from the first.¹ Upon this latter assertion there is, however, very great room for doubt. Radbert's treatise was canvassed warmly among contemporary theologians, and some of the more eminent of their body were highly dissatisfied with it. Such a reception would scarcely have been given to an eminent man, who merely put forward, in an improved form, what every body believed before.

Upon the whole case, it is very desirable that inquiring minds should have sufficient means of judging. For although modern Romanists may not be very fond of dwelling particularly upon Radbert's doctrine, it has been substantially admitted by their church, and forms the staple of their worship. From the naked simplicity with which Apostles did as their blessed Lord enjoined, Latin Christianity has gone to the other extreme. Its eucharistic ministrations are oppressed by a load of ceremonial incumbrances. Nor do these formalities aim solely, or even principally, to strike a salutary reverence upon the minds of communicants. On the contrary, communicants are not ordinarily expected when this ritual is used. Although the forms are eucharistic, and the officiating minister actually receives, usage makes the service merely sacrificial. The congregation comes, upon most occasions, with no intention to receive. It is

¹ "*Primus author, fatente ipsomet Bellarmino, qui serio et copiose scripsit de veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini in eucharistia: cui plane succinit, satis ingenue, Jacobus Sirmondus: Genuinum, inquit, Ecclesiæ Catholicæ sensum ita primus explicuit, ut viam cæteris aperit, qui de eodem argumento multa postea scripsere.*" Cave, *Hist. Lit.* 535.

forgotten that *mass* now means only the communion-service. Instead of keeping this in view, men act as if the old temple had come to life again. If a bishop should be at church, the high priest is there. At all events, an ordinary sacrificing priest, like one who offered in the temple, stands before the worshipper, and offers a sacrifice which far outshines any that ever smoked upon the altar at Jerusalem. There, holy as was the place, were offered nothing nobler than poor, bleeding, dumb animals, typifying the real atonement, eventually to bleed upon the altar of the cross. A Romish claimant of sacrificial privileges professes to offer that very atonement itself, and rings a bell, when he considers his voice answered by a descent of the divine victim from above, in order that the congregation may kneel and worship.¹ It is chiefly for greeting the Deity, sensibly, though disguisedly among them, that Romish worshippers come together, and nearly all their worship turns upon this object. Anciently, the term *missa*, Englished by *mass*, was commonly used in a plural form. *Missarum solemnia* are words often met with in old authors. It has been thought sometimes that such language flowed from the distinction, made in early times, between mass of the catechumens and mass of the faithful. By the last word communicants are meant, no other persons being allowed within the

¹ The Council of Trent says of our Lord, *Having celebrated the old Passover, which the multitude of the children of Israel immolated in memory of the exit from Egypt, he instituted a new Passover, himself to be immolated by the church, through priests under visible signs, in memory of his own passing out of this world to the Father.* Labb. et Coss. xiv. 853.

church, while eucharistic offices were under celebration. When these were to begin, the catechumens, or individuals under a course of preparation for the sacrament, withdrew. This fact will not, however, sufficiently explain the plural use of *missa*. The term is also used for signifying services, which were not even preparatory to the Lord's Supper. It may seem originally to have meant no more than prayer publicly *sent forth*, or *sent up* to God. *Missarum solemnities*, therefore, may be correctly translatable by *the solemn offices of religion*. In time, the term *missa* came only to mean the communion service, and that, when used for no congregation of communicants, but merely as a sacrifice for the living and the dead. Thus this particular service not only monopolised a name, which had been common to it with other services, but also found a new feature for Christian worship.¹ The same disposition to fix attention almost exclusively upon it, found its way into vespers, or the afternoon service. A notion, taken seemingly from the Jews, and early found among Christians, that eucharistic substances should be the first food taken in a day, prevents afternoon consecrations of the sacrament.² Ministers could rarely fast so long,

¹ Among the ancients *missæ* and *missarum solemnities* more often occur to readers in the plural than the singular, either because a mass was twofold, of the catechumens and the faithful, or because they understood, under the name of *missa*, all the divine offices and the whole administration of the sacraments. (Bona, *de Rebb. Liturg.* ii.) Cassander shows from *Benedict's Rule* and from *Honorius*, that the prayers which are commonly called collects, used to go by the name of masses. (Chemnic. *Exam. Conc. Trid.* ii. 151.) Chemnitz traces the term *missa* to Ambrose's time.

² See *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, 3d ed. p. 320. The Jews "were

and although the holy supper merges in a sacrifice, ancient usage is not so far disregarded, or forgotten, as that mass can be celebrated without at least one recipient. Early usage, however, allowed communicants to take home portions of the consecrated bread for their private religious eating, and sent other portions, as tokens of pious affection, to such members of the church as were prevented by sickness, distance, or persecution from joining their brethren at the holy table. This usage has found an opening for setting apart portions of the consecrated elements, which may be exhibited and worshipped at such times in the day as cannot have a regular communion-service, from the supposed necessity of employing a fasting officiator. Thus a belief in priests, and material sacrifices, and a divine presence, sensible though veiled, runs through the whole Latin system, and really is its main distinction. To it, undoubtedly, Europe owes her glorious cathedrals. Their whole extent may be filled, and often is, abroad, by an ordinary congregation. The people need not be within reach of some intelligible address. They come to be

commanded by their traditions to fast from a little before the evening sacrifice till dark. But the evening sacrifice, on the eve of the passover, was slain, as we have already seen, at the seventh hour and a half; and if the passover fell on the Sabbath, then was the evening sacrifice slain at the sixth hour and a half. Consequently, the injunction of fasting from before the evening sacrifice till dark, was the same as fasting from half-past one in the afternoon, if the passover fell on a week-day; or from half-past twelve, if it fell on a Sabbath: which was full six or seven hours on an average." (Brown's *Antiquities of the Jews*, Lond. 1820, i. 450.) As the Eucharist was originally engrafted on a religious meal of Jewish origin, many or most of the first recipients were likely to come to it in the old way, after a purposed abstinence of some continuance.

present at a sacrifice. All can hear the noble organ, which generally peals immediately over the great western entrance. All can hear the bell, which asserts the Saviour's corporeal descent, and can fall on their knees to greet him. In England, such vast and gorgeous piles are not proportionately occupied by the solemnities of public worship. The nation wants evidence for material sacrifice, and can find none. For prayers that all may understand, scripture-lessons that all may hear, and sermons by which all may edify, a small enclosure comparatively can alone be used. The spacious pile that rises majestically around, serves merely to accommodate some very rare assemblage, and contain memorials of departed worth or wealth. But better want the use, than take up an abuse. Music may thrill, and spectacle amuse: they cannot store the mind with sound religious knowledge. Confidence in material sacrifices, and in material descents from heaven, may be bottomed in delusion. If such divinity could be traced even up to the destruction of Jerusalem, its age would be insufficient. Why cannot it be found in the New Testament? Any one may allowably reply, Because it is not true. For although traces of this theology have been found by some in the sacred books, yet others equally competent have treated all such deductions as forced and fallacious. Those who maintain them, eagerly seek support from the earlier stages of ecclesiastical antiquity. But here again the opposition is continued. Each party charges the other with misunderstanding, if not with misrepresentation. For supplying this controversy with materials, the ninth

century stands especially conspicuous. England's turn for an open share in the strife had not come. But her admirable Alfred has commonly passed for the patron of Radbert's most famous opponent, and another of his opponents undoubtedly supplied materials for Elfric, at a future day. Thus Anglo-Saxon authority really can be brought to bear importantly upon the eucharistic controversy, and Romanists, accordingly, have eagerly sought extenuations of its force.

One of their objects has been to detach Alfred from the other side. Personally, that perfect pattern of royal usefulness is not known to have entered into the eucharistic controversy. But Erigena, who took a very prominent part in it, is represented by many writers to have passed over into England, at Alfred's invitation. If this be true, England's enlightened patriot king could scarcely have espoused Radbert's doctrine. Rather, indeed, must his act have made way for the decided contradiction to transubstantiation given by Elfric, a century later. The great homilist's eucharistic view would readily be welcomed by Englishmen, if they had known it to have been approved by the wisest and most respected of their kings. Mabillon is unwilling, therefore, to allow that Elfric could have owed any thing to Alfred, and no opinion from that very learned and ingenuous Benedictine is undeserving of careful and respectful examination.

He considers Radbert's treatise, which has become so famous, to have been written in 831: it had been usually dated about thirteen years earlier. It was

composed at the request of a former pupil, who had himself become the head of a religious establishment, and who wanted such a work for the young scholars under his direction. In this pupil, Mabillon finds Warin, who went, in 826, from the abbey of Corbie, in Picardy, to preside over a monastery lately founded upon the same plan in Westphalia, and which became known as New Corbey. For some time, Radbert's piece appears to have attracted little or no notice; but by the year 844, when the author became abbot of his house, or thereabouts, he found himself called upon to consider the subject again. He did so, and presented his work in an augmented form to Charles the Bald.¹ It had now been widely canvassed, and many divines disputed its claims to confidence. Among them, John Scot addressed an attack upon it to Charles the Bald; and Ratramn, having that prince's direction to examine it, also wrote against its doctrine. There were other opponents likewise; and one was found in no less a man than Raban Maur, the famous archbishop of Mentz. That very able prelate charges Radbert's theory with error and novelty.² The former charge might be matter of opinion, but the latter is a testimony which Raban could scarcely have deliberately given, if he had not known its truth. Radbert, indeed, supported his doctrine by the authority of Ambrose; but he uses, not with strict accuracy, a passage which had not, probably, been much regarded in that father; and he was therefore very reasonably considered as the propounder of a

¹ Præf. in sæc. iv. *Actorum SS. Ord. Bened.* iv. et seq.

² See *The Bampton Lectures for 1830*, pp. 412, 413. 417.

perfect novelty.¹ Not only eminent contemporaries took this view of him, but also in the eleventh century the same thing was said by Berenger. He denounces Radbert as a foolish, mistaken man, the leader of mistaken men.² Be that writer's doctrine, however, bottomed in mistake, or no, its credit is warmly maintained by Romish controversialists. Even Mabillon represents papal principles as pretty correctly embodied in it.³

That learned monk represents Radbert's chief principles to be the following three: namely, that Christ's true body and blood are in the eucharist; that the substance of bread and wine exist no longer after consecration; that the body is no other than the one which was born of the Virgin Mary. From these

¹ "Eam tuebatur Paschasius Ambrosii testimonio, adversariis non ita perspicuo, ex libro de mysteriis, cap. 9. ubi hæc legimus: *Liquet igitur, quod præter naturæ ordinem virgo generavit, et hoc quod conficimus, de Virgine est. Quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Christi corpore, cum præter naturam sit ipse Dominus Jesus natus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Christi quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est: veræ ergo illius carnis sacramentum est.* Ex hoc Paschasius ita sententiam suam in cap. 1. expressit, citato ad marginem Ambrosio: *Unde ipsa Veritas ad discipulos ait; Hæc, inquit, caro mea est pro mundi vita. Et ut mirabilis loquar; non alia plane, quam quæ nata est de Maria, et passa in cruce, et resurrexit de sepulcro. Hæc, inquam, ipsa est.* (Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* iv. xvi.) Paschasius Radbert evidently does not make accurate use here of Ambrose. That father's doctrine amounts to this, that, as Christ's birth was out of natural order so may a change be in the eucharist: his birth, however, gave him a true human frame; the eucharist, accordingly, is a *sacrament* (that is, a *sacred sign*) of a true natural frame. Radbert omits the word *sacramentum*, and by this means extracts out of Ambrose's rhetoric a doctrine that really is not in it.

² "Berengarius in primis in ipsum infensissimus fuit, *ineptum Paschasium, erraticum, et erraticorum ducem appellans, homo linguæ petulantioris.*" *Ibid.* vii.

³ *In the matter of the eucharistic controversy so great is the connection between Radbert and the Catholic faith, that it is pretty much the same, to impugn or defend this or that.* *Ibid.*

propositions, Paschasius deduces the following consequences: that Christ is truly immolated in a mystery, every day; that the eucharist is both truth and figure; that it is not liable to digestion, and other incidents of ordinary food.¹ People who thought otherwise as to this last matter, were branded as *Stercoranists*, and Romanists are much offended that any speculators should have arisen who could be described by such a filthy and ridiculous appellation. But when authorities of their own take pains to spread a belief that eucharistic rites bring down upon earth for transmission into human stomachs, the very same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, man's prurient wit cannot be restrained within decorous bounds. In fact, such speculations are not extinct, and never can be, so long as a large Christian society teaches transubstantiation. But persons who enter into such questions no longer have the coarseness of a semi-barbarous age. Although, therefore, many Romanists, Mabillon says, entertain the opinion which formerly earnt a dirty term of obloquy, yet nobody thinks of making them ridiculous by using it.² De

¹ "Tria potissimum in hoc opere docet Paschasius, quæ statim ab initio libri exponit: nimirum, verum corpus et sanguinem Christi Domini existere in eucharistia: panis et vini substantiam, facta consecratione, non superesse: ipsumque corpus non aliud esse, quam quod de Maria Virgine natum est. Hæc paucis comprehendit in hunc modum; *Licet figura panis et vini hic sit, omnino nihil aliud, quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt. Unde ipsa Veritas ad discipulos hæc inquit: Caro mea est pro mundi vita. Et ut mirabilius loquar, non alia plane, quam quæ nata est de Maria, et passa in cruce, et resurrexit de sepulchro.* Tria alia ex his consequentia etiam docet, scilicet, Christum in mysterio quotidie veraciter immolari, in capitibus 2, 4, et 9: Eucharistiam et veritatem esse et figuram, cap. 4.: denique *secessui obnoxiam non esse*, cap. 20. Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* ix.

² "Sensisse vero nonnullos species panis et vini communi cæterorum

Marca points out other differences between Paschasius Radbert's opinions and those which are now general among Romanists. They maintain that, in the eucharist, accidents are found without a corresponding substance.¹ But Radbert lived before the time for such scholastic subtleties. He teaches that every thing is changed, except colour and savour. He also teaches, that the bread is changed into the body alone, and the wine into the blood.² His work is, therefore, an incidental testimony against the antiquity of half communion.

Paschasius does not, however, differ from the modern Romish school on points of merely secondary importance. Large extracts are produced from his famous treatise, in the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, as evidence on the Protestant side.³ For noticing many of these quotations, there is here no occasion. But it is otherwise with one thing. Radbert will not allow the possibility of eating Christ's body by wicked men. He maintains that view, evidently under guidance of the very passage from Austin, which Archbishop Parker inserted for the same purpose, in the Thirty-nine Articles.⁴ This is fatal to much that springs

ciborum legi subjacere, uti hodieque sentiunt Catholici non pauci." Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* xxii.

¹ "Il diffère de l'opinion qui est suivie aujourd'uy en deux points; l'un est, qu'il ne reconnoit point d'accidens sans substance, qui restent après ce changement; car il dit que tout est changé, sauf la couleur, et la saveur qui restent en cette chair de Jésus Christ, qui est l'eucharistie." *Opp.* v. 131.

² "L'autre point, auquel il diffère de l'opinion de l'école, est la concomitance; car il pretend, que la pain est changé en la chair seulement, et le vin au sang." *Ibid.* 132.

³ Col. 1081, et seq.

⁴ Art. 29. Austin's words are not given genuinely in the article, but

from a Romish mass.¹ The Council of Trent undertook to declare, that our Lord's eucharistic descent was consequent upon consecration, but forbore to say wherein this consists.² Now, authorities differ upon that point.³ Radbert makes the divine descent dependent on worthy receiving. Where the latter,

with an interpolation, which takes from their force as an evidence against transubstantiation. The compilers of the articles were not aware of this, but followed Austin's received text. See the author's *Bampton Lectures*, 404.

¹ *Unless a man first be in Christ, and Christ in him, he cannot eat Christ's flesh, or drink his blood. — What does the sinner eat, and what drink? Certainly, not flesh and blood for his own advantage, but judgment, although he seem with the rest to partake of that sacrament.* ("Cap. 6. Nisi quis prius maneat in Christo, et Christus in illo, carnem Christi manducare non potest, neque sanguinem bibere. — Cap. 14. Quid manducat peccator, et quid bibit? Non utique sibi carnem utiliter sumit et sanguinem, sed iudicium, licet videatur cum cæteris sacramentum illud percipere. Pasch. Radb.) *Catal. Test. Ver.* 1083. 1086.

² *First the holy synod teaches, and openly and simply professes, that in the benign sacrament of the holy eucharist, after the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the form ("sub specie") of those sensible things.* Labb. et Coss. xiv. 805.

³ *Another thing which I said must be observed is this, that though they make mention of the consecration of bread and wine, yet they do not explain what and of what sort it is; notwithstanding the fact that many of the fathers of the councils ought to have some certain form of the consecration of the Eucharist defined and determined, among such a variety of disputations and opinions.* (*Exam. Conc. Trid.* ii. 65.) Chemnitz goes on to say, that many thought consecration effected by the low muttering of the four words, *Hoc est corpus meum*; while others thought the other words of institution necessary; others, that the canon must be used in addition; and some doubted whether, let what would be said, an altar, priest, vessels, vestments, and the like, could be dispensed with. The catechism of the Council of Trent, as is unhappily too common, outruns the council itself. It roundly gives *Hoc est corpus meum* as the form of consecration. The Council itself might have been of the same opinion, but it did not say so; Romish authorities of an inferior kind are perfectly indecisive. Those who would wish to see what various opinions have been put forth from no mean quarters as to the matter of eucharistic consecration, may turn to Bishop Morton, *Of the Sacrament*, p. 3.

therefore, is wanting, so his doctrine makes the former. He scarcely thought, probably, of such a deficiency. Communion, with only the officiator to communicate, seem to have begun, indeed, in his day, but were not considered lawful.¹ Many receivers, charity forbids one to doubt, must be worthy. Such worthiness, unquestionably, is not a sufficient warrant for calling upon a whole congregation to worship what pious use alone makes holy, even at communion times, much less at other times. But still it supposes the real presence at every legitimate eucharistic celebration. The system of adoring without any general partaking, is quite indefensible, if Radbert be correct. There is no illiterality in calculating upon the occasional unworthy receiving of Romish clergymen. Ordination must make them angels, if it were otherwise. The Holy Supper is, however, constantly celebrated when one of them is the sole partaker. Perhaps, he would rather decline, or may, from habit, come with very little thought; but his professional duty calls him to the table. He not only receives there, but also he rings a bell to make the congregation fall down and worship what he receives. More than this, he reserves like substances, which may be carried about and worshipped at other times. Now, even granting the propriety of such worship, when there is a worthy receiving, how can it be justified indiscriminately, upon Radbert's principle, which is also Austin's? There is but one receiver present,

¹ *It is, however, to be confessed, that a legitimate mass is that at which are present a priest, a respondent, an offerer, and a communicant, as the composition of the prayers itself shows by evident reason.* (Walafrid Strabo, *Bibl. PP.* x. 685.) The *Rational* of Durand says, that in a general way ("generaliter") this is true.

and he, by some unhappiness, may be unworthy. According to one author of credit in the ninth century, an *illegitimate mass* has been performed. Nor is this all the evil. People have been down upon their knees to worship Christ corporally present in the eucharist, when, according to another author of the ninth century, also much looked up to, no such presence took place, because there was no fit communicant. Before the ninth century closed, masses branded as illegitimate had made considerable way. They originated in convents and ecclesiastical establishments, which could supply a body of communicants on days when laymen were otherwise engaged. As ignorance and admiration of monks increased, people thought even a monastic or clerical company of communicants unnecessary.¹ One holy man was only needed, at once to consecrate and receive. Nay more: his attention to eucharistic duties might excuse the want of it in others. He might receive, or

¹ *Although originally masses were not performed without a congregation* ("missæ sine collecta non fierent"), afterwards a custom grew up in the church to perform solitary ones, and chiefly in convents. (Odo, Cameracen. Sacri Can. Missæ Expos. Bibl. PP. vi. 357.) Odo was bishop of Cambray, about the year 1105. It may be thought that his principle does not apply to communion services, where, although only the officiator receives, a congregation is present; the masses which make up the chief of Romish public worship. But it is really fatal to that usage, because his observation is drawn out by the mention of *by-standers* in the canon of the mass. Now, the same canon is used for a strictly private mass, and for one performed before a congregation. It is plain, therefore, that it could not have been written with any view to private masses. But although the canon requires a congregation, a sacrifice for quick and dead does not. Hence the canon is at variance with modern Romish principles. As these had gained ground in Odo's time, he says, that when mass is performed without a congregation, the officiator is to turn to the church, and to salute the church in the church. By *solitary masses* here Chemnitz understands not such as are strictly so, but such as had no lay communicants. These have been known as *private masses*. Exam. Conc. Trid. ii. 166.

offer, for the absent. Such unauthorised opinions were not established without some difficulty, but men would gladly be religious by proxy, and solitary masses triumphed. Still the old system could not be driven into complete oblivion. People came to mass, in the modern Romish sense, but probably tradition indicated a different state of things in years gone by. At all events, traces of one in books, and in the eucharistic offices themselves, could not be overlooked by enquiring minds. Hence old authors every now and then severely tax the ingenuity of papal advocates.¹ Bellarmine gets out of the difficulty by making the eucharistic office applicable either to a communion or a sacrifice. When these two things come together, he admits that a mass is more perfect and lawful.² This amounts, however, to a begging of the question: a proper sacrifice in the eucharist being pronounced by Protestants incapable of proof, either from Scripture or antiquity. If they were not right, why should non-communicants have been anciently dismissed from church, when the real communion service began?³ Surely

¹ Humbert, against Nicetas, in the eleventh century, lays down three things as necessary to a perfect mass, namely, blessing, breaking, and distribution, which position he proves by reference to Scripture. Therefore, he adds, *if either of these three things be done without the others, that is, blessing without distribution, or breaking without blessing and distribution, or distribution without blessing and breaking, it does not represent the perfect remembrance of Christ.* *Bibl. PP.* iv. p. 2. 246.

² *I answer, if mass be strictly taken for a sacrifice, it may clearly be perfect and legitimate even without communicants, if only the sacrifice be consumed by the priest; because, however, as we have said, the celebration of mass is ordained, not only for offering a sacrifice to God, but also for nurturing the people with spiritual food; therefore on this behalf it cannot be denied, that a mass is more perfect and legitimate, where communicants are at hand, than where they are wanting; and this alone the cited authors mean.* *Controv.* iii. 354.

³ *It is to be known, according to the old fathers, that communicants*

their presence might have been suffered at a mere sacrifice, as it is on this very ground at a modern Romish mass. From their ejection an unanswerable inference may be drawn against that system. Among plain testimonies against it is the following one. *Vainly*, says Chrysostom, *is the daily oblation kept up, when there is nobody ready to partake of it.* For this, Bellarmine manages to find an answer.¹ But when Chrysostom says, *better keep away from the sacrifice, than come and not communicate*, he can only reply, here as elsewhere, *that Father strains language to extremes.*² This, no doubt, may be truly said of him, and of other fathers; whence their authority for articles of faith, uncontained in Scripture, may be shown to be none at all. Doctrine may be extracted, where only rhetoric was meant. But their testimony to matter of fact stands upon very different ground. Now Chrysostom never would have written

alone used to be present at the divine mysteries; whence also before the oblation, according to the canons, the catechumens and penitents were bidden to go out, as being persons who were not prepared for communicating. Cassander. *ad calcem Grotii Opp. Theol.* iv. 602.

¹ *I say those words of Chrysostom's, vainly is the daily oblation kept up, &c. do not absolutely signify that the oblation is vainly made, but vainly in as far as it is ordained for communion. For since the celebration of mass is partly ordained for offering sacrifice to God, partly for refreshing the people with that sacred bread, when there are none to communicate, it is vainly done in as far as it is ordained to the latter end, but not vainly in as far as it is ordained to the former end.* (Controv. iii. 354.) This is obviously a quibble. It should be first proved from Scripture, that the Lord's Supper was *ordained for offering sacrifice to God*, that is, proper, or material sacrifice. That it serves importantly for the offering of spiritual sacrifice, is true enough, and nothing more probably was meant by many of the ancient authors who are cited by Romanists upon this question.

² "Ad illud autem quod Chrysostomus dicit, *melius esse non interesse sacrificio, quam interesse, et non communicare*, dico Chrysostomum, ut quædam alia, per excessum ita esse locutum, cum solum hortari cuperet homines ad frequenter et digne communicandum." *Ibid.*

as he did, in either the passage charged with inaccuracy, or in that charged with rhetorical hyperbole, had he lived an approving witness of Romish missal sacrifice. What light of modern Rome would say, *there is no use in coming to mass, if you do not mean to communicate? You had better keep away.* In other places, Bellarmine says, Chrysostom uses a different language, representing the sacrifice as beneficial to the dead, and living persons absent; a representation which he shares with all the Fathers.¹ But, suppose they really do talk thus, what means had any one of them of knowing this representation to be true? They found nothing of the kind in Scripture, they were not inspired, and did not live until many generations after all the apostles were dead. The missal sacrifice is, indeed, when thoroughly sifted, so hopeless a case, that even the Council of Trent expressed a wish that communicants could constantly be found.³ The English reformers had apparently the same desire,

¹ *For if mass profits the dead, as all the Fathers say with one mouth, also living persons absent, sick people, way-farers, nay, even infidels and heretics, how much more will it profit the faithful present, and at the same time offering with vow and desire? (Controv. iii. 354.)* This, it is plain, comes to nothing. What profits the dead can only be known by inspiration, and no inspired author has said any thing about the matter. To say that people must have originally derived religious opinions of long standing and great popularity from inspiration, is evidently fallacious. Apply the principle to idolatry. But suppose it really declared by all the Fathers, that prayers offered by communicants at communion time are profitable to the dead, what advantage is it to the modern Romish mass system? The Fathers could not have had it in their eye, because non-receivers were not suffered in the church, when the real communion office began.

² *Moreover, our masses do not exclude communicants, as the Council of Trent affirms, sess. 22. ca. 6.; the church wishes that at every mass those who stand by should communicate; but if there are none who are willing to communicate, it is not the fault of the priest, nor can he be blamed as if he wished alone to partake of the Lord's Supper. Ibid.*

and hence meant, it is thought, provision to be made for celebrating, upon all Sundays and holidays.¹ But they provided against proceeding to real eucharistic rites, if no communicants were forthcoming. There was then merely to be the *dry mass* of early times.² Their contemporaries at Trent were not so cautious. The service was to go regularly on, however the congregation might be disposed; and if a communion, which Scripture authorises, could not be had, a material sacrifice, or something considered like one, which the Fathers are said to authorise, might occupy the congregation in its place.

¹ "Whereby" (by some of the rubrics) "we are given to understand, that, upon what day soever people came to church, the priest was to be ready to celebrate the holy sacrament, if any were disposed to communicate with him. And if there were none, he was to show his readiness by reading a considerable part of the communion service." Beveridge, *Works*, i. 558.

² *When the daily communion of clergy and religious people was no longer frequented, the priests nevertheless daily, according to custom, set the altars out. In that state then sometimes, when communicants were not present, prayers, lessons, and the other rites belonging to the sacrament, except consecration and communion, were celebrated; as Socrates, 6. 5. ch. 22., writes of the Alexandrian church. And this mass was called dry. But sometimes the celebrating priests, when they had nobody else, began to communicate alone, lest they should be defrauded of the people's oblations, if they should only celebrate a dry mass.* (Chemnitz, *Exam. Conc. Trid.* ii. 167.) The Alexandrian case applies only to Wednesday in Passion Week, and Good Friday, but it might have been the origin of dry masses. They were not uncommonly celebrated on voyages, from the danger of spilling the wine occasioned by the vessel's motion. Hence one of their names was nautical masses. Louis IX., the sainted king of France, daily celebrated a mass of this kind when on ship-board. But he used a consecrated host, probably for elevation and adoration. The canon was omitted. Durand, in his *Rational*, gives directions for the dry mass. Cardinal Bona strongly disapproves it, pronouncing it the mere phantom and simulation of a true mass, it wanting not only consecration, but also receiving. Hence he likens it to the wooden and stone suppers which Heliogabalus served up to mock his guests. (*Rer. Liturg.* 118.) A head full of the Romish missal sacrifice would naturally think thus.

Paschasius Radbert, no doubt, helped on importantly this notion of a proper missal sacrifice. Unfavourable to it, as is his doctrine, that Christ's body cannot pass unfaithful lips, it was a great point gained by superstition, to have people believe that pious receivers partook of the very same substance that had been born of the Virgin Mary. It was then only necessary, for modern Romish purposes, to say little or nothing about worthy receiving, and to talk as if consecration did all that Radbert had brought forward. Such carelessness and assumption, when they fall in with human weaknesses, easily take hold even upon ages much more enlightened than those which immediately followed Radbert's time. Hence it is of great use to expose and resist, from the outset, opinions likely from any cause to become popular, but which minds that lead others consider erroneous and pernicious. The eminent contemporaries of Paschasius, who acted as if they felt so, were probably far from anticipating all the consequences that have been built upon his principle. But they were startled by its boldness, and strove to drive it into obscurity. It was, however, not ill suited for the times, and fitted exactly for taking with an age of extreme darkness, as was the next century. When the human mind struggled into something more of light, school divinity took up all the grosser parts of Radbert's theory, and eventually the Church of Rome staked her credit upon them. Thus, every attack upon them by contemporaries became important. Romanists are naturally willing to think that Paschasius merely drove home principles which all the world believed.

Hence, the pains taken to discredit accounts of distinguished patronage bestowed upon one of his opponents, have had very general success.

Without the long details that have been given, this success might seem of no great importance. But really every thing that bears upon the Romish mass requires a thorough sifting. Mabillon disputed current accounts of Erigena, because he felt himself dealing with vital questions. His voice has been eagerly re-echoed by those who shrink from the disadvantage of admitting that a man, patronised by king Alfred, and made by him abbot of Athelney, lies under the ban of Rome as an active disbeliever of transubstantiation. Undoubtedly, such patronage cannot be established without injury to the papal church. Her main service, the mass, must be bottomed in delusion, if it need support from a principle, disapproved, in the ninth century, by a prince of uncommon sagacity, unimpeachable integrity, extensive information, and undisputed orthodoxy. No such fate could be reserved for any doctrine that had come down uninterruptedly from the Apostles. That, however, a blow like this was not received by transubstantiation, Mabillon argues with his usual ingenuity and learning. When Alfred was intent upon the intellectual improvement of his people, he sent for assistance from Gaul. His call brought over Grimbald from the monastery at St. Omer's, then called Sithieu, subsequently St. Bertin's, and John. We do not know whence the latter came, but Mabillon considers the place to have been Corbie.¹ His reason for this is,

¹ *Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* iv. pars 2. p. 514.

the training that was going on in the French abbey for the monastery that was named after it in Westphalia. A John, patronised by Alfred, we are told by Asser, was *from the race of the Old Saxons*¹, that is, the person he then speaks of, sprang from the very people who lived at no great distance from the German Corbey. Such a man must be very fit for keeping up a connection between that monastery and its prototype in France: Ingulph makes him to have been actually brought over by Alfred into England from Old Saxony²; but Mabillon allows this to be a mistake, Asser having made him come from Gaul. Alfred may seem to have appointed this person abbot of Athelney. If so, he has the credit of courageously and successfully resisting there a murderous assault from a deacon and priest of his house, both French. The other facts ascertainable from Asser, who is the earliest authority in this case, are, that John, who came from Gaul, was *a presbyter and monk, a man of extremely sharp wit, deeply learned in all branches of the literary art, and skilled in many other arts.*³

¹ "Ealdsaxonum genere." Asser. Oxon. 1722, p. 61. This does not stand with the account of John's eminent qualifications, but with that of his nomination to the abbacy of Athelney.

² *Likewise alluring to himself from Old Saxony, John, by surname, the Scot, he (Alfred) constituted him prelate of his monastery at Athelney.* (*Scriptt. post Bed.* 495.) Ingulph, therefore, takes the John brought over from abroad, and the John, Abbot of Athelney, for the same person: the high intellectual character being given by Asser to the party from abroad. Ingulph is clearly wrong as to this individual's coming from Old Saxony. Asser makes both him and Grimbold come from Gaul.

³ "Johannem quoque æque" (with Grimbold) "presbyterum et monachum, acerrimi ingenii virum, et in omnibus disciplinis literariorum artis eruditissimum, et in multis aliis artibus artificiosum." (*De Gestis Ælf.* 47.) When the appointment of John to the abbacy of Athelney is mentioned, some pages afterwards, nothing more is said

A John brought over by Alfred is called John *Scot*, by Simeon of Durham and Hoveden. Their united authority is, indeed, but one, the same words being used by both. But such transcription by a later author of credit, proves that a statement was currently received. Wherever it originated, Malmesbury has also made use of it in his *Kings*, but in such a manner as to render it uncertain, whether he did not consider two different persons to have been confounded by ancient writers. The abbot of Athelney he merely calls John, and says no more of him than that his origin was from Old Saxony.¹ He afterwards tells us that John *Scot* is believed² to have been allured into England at that time by Alfred's munificence, and adds those accounts of his learning and abilities which Asser gives on his first introduction to the reader, and which Simeon of Durham amplifies. In his *Aldhelm*, Malmesbury throws all reserve aside, and copies Hoveden and Simeon implicitly.³ Now no one doubts that John Scot and Erigena are merely two different names of the same person.⁴ But

of him than that he was of the old Saxon stock. It is, therefore, possible that Asser might have had two Johns in his eye; not one, as Ingulph and many others have supposed.

¹ "Ex antiqua Saxoniam oriundum." (*Gesta RR. Angl.* i. 188.) This is nothing more than a very slight variation from Asser.

² This *creditur* is a remarkable qualification; because it not only shows that Malmesbury found Erigena's connection with Alfred generally admitted, and Asser's description applied to that scholar, but also that he himself would gladly have discredited any such connection.

³ *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 27. Here, therefore, Malmesbury states, without any qualification, that John Scot came over to Alfred, and was eventually murdered by his pupils at Malmesbury.

⁴ If *Johannes Scotus Erigena* be joined together, it will mean *John the Irish-born Scot*. In his time, Ireland was called *Scotia*, or *Scotia major*; the lesser *Scotia* were those parts of the modern Scotland that

Mabillon contends that he could not be Asser's John. That person was of the old Saxon stock, whereas Erigena is proved, by that very designation, to have been an Irishman, and contemporary authorities plainly say so.¹ Erigena besides, we are told, never calls himself, or is called by contemporaries, presbyter, or monk.² Asser calls Alfred's John both. He does not appear to have outlived 882, which is thought not late enough for his alleged connection with England.³ He was a mere sophist⁴, whereas Asser

a race identical with the Irish occupied. To make a distinction between natives of these two countries, the Irish branch were termed *Scoti I rni*; the Scottish, *Scoti Albini*. Ussher, *Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.* 383.

¹ Anastasius the Librarian, to disparage Erigena's version of the pseudo-Dionysius, describes him as a *barbarian from the ends of the earth*. (*Vet. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge*, 65.) Pope Nicholas I. also speaks of Erigena as *genere Scotus*, and Hincmar of Rheims more plainly still calls him *Scottigena*. Mabillon, *Acta SS.* iv. 517.

² "Accedit quod Scotus nunquam se presbyterum, monachumve in librorum suorum pr fationibus dicit, nec ullus veterum,  qualium scilicet, aut supparium, ipsum his titulis afficit." (Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* iii. 242.) This objection is plausible, but not conclusive. Erigena might have been neither presbyter nor monk when he wrote, but both subsequently, or the omission of these titles might have been merely accidental. It might even have been intentional. Erigena was no favourite with his clerical contemporaries. They thought him favourable to the Greek party, rather than the Latin, and called him a heretic. "Si tamen ignoscatur ei in quibusdam, quibus a Latinorum tramite deviavit, dum in Gr cos acriter oculos intendit. Quare et h reticus putatus est." Sim. Dunelm. Hoveden. Malmesb. *X. Script.* 148. *Script. post Bed.* 234. *De Gest. RR.* i. 190.

³ Mabillon considers him not to have outlived 882. (*Annal. Bened.* iii. 242.) But this is a mere conjecture founded upon dates assigned to his works. John, the abbot of Athelney, he thinks must have had the fight with the French priest and deacon, about the year 895, and he was then strong enough to make a powerful resistance. The date, however, is uncertain; so is the assaulted party's identity with Erigena; and so, perhaps, is the genuineness of the paragraph.

⁴ "Cum Scottus nonnisi sophisticam artem calluerit." (Mabillon, *ut supra*.) Simeon of Durham, however, speaks of John Scot as a *miracle of knowledge*.

describes the abbot of Athelney as *not without a share of military knowledge*¹, and as able to defend himself at a date when, if Erigena were alive at all, he must have been very old.² After all, the learned Benedictine cannot quite satisfy himself that John Scot really did not, when he lost his patron, Charles the Bald, visit England, with a view to Alfred's patronage.³ He had become odious to the clergy of Gaul, and was, therefore, likely to wish for a retreat in the British Isles, which had been the home of his youth. Only Mabillon will not allow that Asser could ever have meant Erigena, when he mentions John. But Malmesbury, it is admitted, was of a different opinion.⁴ Whether that ancient author was right

¹ "Bellicosæ artis non expers." (Asser. 63.) This is, however, given merely as a report: *ut audivimus*.

² He seems to have gone to France subsequently to 840; but he might then have been very young, and supposing the struggle at Athelney to have taken place in 895, and him to have been the party assaulted, he might have been under seventy. Many a man at that age is capable of making a powerful resistance.

³ "An vero Johannes Scottus ad Ælfredum, quem literarum amantem noverat, mortuo Carolo Calvo, ultro ipse accesserit, mihi non liquet. — Nescio, an, mortuo Carolo, ad Ælfredum se contulerit, Mæcenate destitutus, atque ob errorum, quibus ejus libri respersi sunt, infamiam, inglorius deinceps apud Gallos futurus." *Acta SS.* iv. 519.

⁴ "Postea Johannes abbas, idem atque Johannes Scottus credi cœpit: aut si quis alterum ab altero distinguendum esse ratus est, utrumque ab Assero accitum existimavit. In ea sententia sine dubio fuit Willelmus Malmesburiensis monachus in lib. 2. *De Gestis RR. Angl.* cap. 4. ubi Johannem, quem Adelingiæ abbatem constituit Ælfredus *ex antiqua Saxonia oriundum*, diserte distinguit a Johanne Scotto, quem etiam *munificentia Ælfredi in Angliam allectum* scribit. (Ibid. 518.) Trithemius distinguishes between John Scot and John, called *Erigena*. The former he makes a Benedictine monk, the disciple of Bede, and colleague of Alcuin, with whom he came out of Britain, to the court of Charlemain, who highly valued him. The latter he makes a very learned, subtle-witted monk, who wrote by the desire of *Charles, son of Lewis, the brother of the emperor Lothaire*. (*De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, 71. 73. Fabricii, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*,

cannot be ascertained. Nor would much attention have ever been given to the question, did it not bear indirectly upon an important point in theology. Alfred was not likely to patronise Erigena, if he had been a believer in Radbert's eucharistic doctrine. Of his patronage, however, to that celebrated scholar there is very strong probability. Asser's account of a learned man, named John, brought over by him from Gaul, will fit no individual of the age more closely than Erigena. There is no necessary coherence between that account and another subsequently given of the abbot of Athelney. Asser, therefore, might really have been describing two persons instead of one: which would make Mabillon's argument from *the old Saxon stock* fall to the ground. But supposing only one person to be meant, it is not at all improbable that a family from the north of Germany should have settled, or resided, in Ireland. A celebrated son born to them there, would be very likely to be called Erigena. Thus Irish birth, and old Saxon not Anglo-Saxon origin, would come together in the same individual. Nor is it necessary to disbelieve this individual's connection with Athelney. If he came to France, when young, he might have lived longer than Mabillon supposes, and been quite equal to a powerful struggle for his life, at the date fixed for the assault at Athelney. That he knew something scientifically, as it may be said, of the best way to defend himself, is quite consistent with Asser's account of Alfred's

Hamburg, 1718.) Although these accounts are not very satisfactory, they show that ancient times commonly made two Johns, where the moderns more usually make one.

learned friend, John. That person was skilled in many other things besides literature. Reflections upon Erigena as a mere sophist, amount to nothing. He was unquestionably a man of very varied attainments, and in his early days he might have paid some attention to the art of self-defence. Writers, however, nearest Asser, make no mention of this Athelney assault. Hence it may be an interpolation, or a corrupt version, of some similar transaction. Malmesbury makes John Scot to have taught eventually in the monastery at that place, and to have been murdered there by his pupils. This account, and the Athelney one, may both have arisen from the same occurrence, and neither of them may relate it correctly. But whatever may be the truth as to that matter, and other things in this case, it is at least certain that Mabillon has failed of disproving Alfred's patronage of Erigena, or rather he ended by abandoning the attempt. No doubt, Protestants have been influenced by their own partialities in representing that Radbert's opponent was befriended by a monarch so illustrious, but Romanists are equally biassed on the other side. Neither party can attain certainty, but such as love the Reformation have good reason to maintain the ground generally taken by their historians. The question is, not whether Alfred made Erigena abbot of Athelney, but whether he patronised him at all? A Romish church-history, recently republished, admits that he did¹, and Mabillon retires from a long argument to prove the contrary, inserted

¹ *Dodd's Church History of England*, by the Rev. M. A. Tierney. Lond. 1839, i. 58.

in two of his very learned works¹, by admitting himself unable to decide, whether he did, or not.²

¹ *Annales Benedictini*, iii. 242. *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, sec. 4. pars 2. xlv. 514. The last of these is the completest of the three, and it bears the following cautious title: *Historical Elogium of the venerable John, Abbot of Athelney, where is about John Scot, or Erigena, and about John the Sophist, or of Malmesbury*. Thus the reader is prepared for finding that two persons may have been confounded, and that one of them may have been the party denounced as a heretic, but who notwithstanding, in addition to the patronage of Charles the Bald, enjoyed also that of Alfred. Mabillon's date of the Athelney case is about 895: but the Peterborough Chronicle says, under 891. *The monk John Scot died at Malmesbury, being stabbed, as it is said, by the writing-styles of the boys, whose master he was.* *Chron. Angl. Petr.* 26.

² Dr. Lingard feels no such inability. "Why do I not mention," he says, "John Scotus Erigena, the most illustrious of Alfred's literary friends, who came from Gaul to Britain at the royal invitation, accepted from the king a professorship at Oxford, and thence removed to the abbey of Malmesbury, where he died, as we are told by Mr. Soames? Because I see no good reason to affirm that Scotus ever came to England, and much less to believe that he was honoured with the friendship of Alfred. A story respecting him is told by several of our chroniclers, but it is evident that they all copy from Malmesbury. Now the only fact which can be considered as certain in the narrative of Malmesbury is, that there existed in his church, on the left of the altar, a monumental slab, bearing the following inscription:

*Clauditur in tumulo sanctus sophista Johannes,
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro;
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum,
Quo, meruit, regnant sancti per sæcula cuncti.*

But who was the tenant of this grave? The word *martyrio* showed that he had suffered a violent death; and was explained by a vague tradition, that the boys, whom the sophist taught, provoked by his severity, had stabbed him with their styles for writing; a tale to which Malmesbury himself is disposed to give little credit. He conjectures, however, that the *sanctus sophista Johannes* was *Johannes Scotus*; for the event is supposed to have happened about the time of Scotus; *hoc tempore*, that is, 250 years before, *creditur fuisse Johannes Scotus*; and he understands Alfred to state in his writings that *Johannes Scotus* was one of his teachers, *ejusdem magisterio, ut ex regis scriptis intellexi*, sublimis. Now there is every reason to suppose that by *scripta regis* he means the letter to Wulfsgie, of which he gives an abridgment, and from which he extracts this passage: *These things I have learned from Plegmund, my archbishop, and Asser, my bishop, and Grimbald, my mass-priest, and John, my mass-priest.* Malmesbury then took this John for Scotus, and it is plain that he

That Alfred, any more than Charles the Bald, had no objection to Erigena's eucharistic doctrine, may be inferred from Elfric's case, about a century later. By that eminent person, matter was compiled for delivery from ordinary English pulpits, which has sorely embarrassed Romanists ever since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Yet Elfric evidently put forth nothing that was thought new or heterodox. His

was mistaken. 1. Scotus was neither a monk, nor in priest's orders: this John was both monk and priest, and was also abbot of the monks at Æthelingeý. *Johannes Scotus* was by birth an Irishman, but John the teacher of Alfred was a native of Old Saxony. Hence it appears to me that Malmesbury, in getting up this story, has confounded the two Johns, and taken one for the other." (*Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 247.)

This Malmesbury epitaph to the left of the altar was not likely to commemorate any ordinary *sophist*. No doubt the historian wrote 250 years, or thereabouts, after John Scot's time; and so did the Fathers, at least, after the apostolic age; yet Romanists appeal to them for it. As for Malmesbury's *creditur*, the historian was a staunch abettor of transubstantiation; Erigena *strove with all his might to persuade people, that what is consecrated on the altar is neither truly the body, nor truly the blood of Christ*. (Mabillon, *Acta SS.* iv. xlv.) 'To prove Scot "neither a monk, nor in priest's orders," a mere reference is given to Mabillon, whom very few readers have the means of consulting, and whose arguments upon this head (to be found in a preceding note) are evidently inconclusive. That Alfred's learned friend was ever abbot of Athelney does not necessarily follow from Asser's text (which, after all, may not be genuine); and many readers have assumed from it the existence of two Johns, although there is no insurmountable difficulty in understanding it of one. The birth of Alfred's learned friend in Old Saxony is allowed by Mabillon to be a mistake of Ingulph's. Lastly. Dr. Lingard does not tell his readers, that, in spite of Malmesbury's *creditur*, or *on dit*, the historian, after mentioning John Scot's works and qualifications, adds, *In succeeding years, allured by the munificence of Alfred, he came to England, and in our monastery, having been pierced, as it is told, by the boys whom he taught, with styles, he was even esteemed a martyr*. (*Gesta RR. Angl.* i. 190.) An anonymous chronographer accordingly, printed by Du Chesne, and cited by Mabillon, says, *by Ælfred's desire, John Scot returned from France, where he was with Charles the Bald*. (*Acta SS.* iv. 519.) The Malmesbury epitaph and tradition render it likely that Erigena died a violent death, and at that place. The Athelney account may be a confused echo of that very transaction.

homilies were submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and approved by him.¹ If he had adopted any strange opinions, he was not likely to have sought or obtained any such approval. It is true that he made use of Ratramn, who was a foreign author; but as he did so, apparently, without remark, the fact only proves that Ratramn wrote very much as Englishmen generally thought.² His language might be more full and precise than that of earlier writers on the same subject. This was, however, the natural fruit of controversy. His eucha-

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 219.

² "The English church had existed almost four hundred years before he (Elfric) was born, and had produced theological scholars infinitely his superiors in every respect. Why is their authority to be set aside, and no attention to be paid to any one but Ælfric? Is it not because he has adopted a sort of language very different from theirs? That which characterises his language with respect to the Eucharist, is the distinction which he draws between the body of Christ existing after a bodily, and the same body existing after a ghostly or spiritual manner. Now, whatever he may mean by that distinction (a question which will be noticed hereafter) nothing like it is to be found in the writings of the Anglo-Saxon scholars who preceded him. It is not, in fact, of native, but of foreign origin. He is indebted for it to Bertram, a monk of Corbie, who wrote about the year 860. Of that there can be no doubt; for there is scarcely a sentence in the homily which may not be traced to the work of Bertram. Ælfric then may be a faithful expositor of the opinion of Bertram, but it remains to be shown that he is a faithful expositor of the faith of the Anglo-Saxon Christians." (Lingard, *Hist. and Antiq.* ii. 460.) The authority of English theologians anterior to Elfric is not set aside, but habitually produced in confirmation of his views. His greater precision of language, and fulness of detail, no doubt came from the foreigner Bertram, or Ratramn. But that writer's language was caused by the language of another foreigner, namely Radbert. Surely the Anglo-Saxons had as much right to follow Ratramn, as modern Romanists have to follow Radbert, especially if the latter's doctrine was a *novelty*; which Raban Maur, who must have known, says that it was, and which Charles the Bald's unquestionable patronage, both of Ratramn and Erigena, proves it to have been. That Elfric was "a faithful expositor of the faith of the Anglo-Saxon Christians" is shown sufficiently by the approbation of Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury.

ristic work was occasioned by Radbert's, and necessarily entered into details to answer it. Elfric's adoption of these details in his popular homilies, proves them to have taught nothing incompatible with recognised English theology ; and hence proves also, that Erigena might have been esteemed by Alfred as no less orthodox than learned. Upon Elfric's history, controversy seems exhausted. It certainly would not serve the Romish cause to make him archbishop of Canterbury, and that hypothesis appears now to be abandoned.¹ Whether, or no, he was ever the northern metropolitan, or even a bishop at all, is perfectly uncertain. Protestants may allowably speculate upon such points, and can scarcely refrain from doing so, when they come to treat of this very remarkable scholar. It is, however, his doctrine, not his history, upon which they take their stand.

In one thing, it is asserted, his doctrine has been misrepresented, namely, as to the canon of the Old Testament. His decision upon this point, we are told, is the same as that of the Council of Trent.²

¹ Dr. Lingard formerly followed Mores, and made Elfric archbishop of Canterbury. But in his last work he says, "a more minute and patient enquiry has convinced me, that there exists no sufficient reason to believe that Ælfric the translator was ever raised to the episcopal bench, much less to either of the archiepiscopal thrones." (*Hist. and Antiq.* ii. 453.) Mr. Thorpe, in the preface to Elfric's Homilies, lately translated and published by him for the Ælfric Society, considers Elfric to have been archbishop of York. His abbacy he places at Eynsham, grounding that opinion upon an ancient passage printed by Mr. Wright in the *Biogr. Britann. Lit.* p. 482. In the *Anglo-Saxon Church* (p. 223.) it is conjectured that Elfric was abbot of Peterborough. Mr. Wright's passage is, perhaps, sufficient evidence to the contrary.

² "His canon (Elfric's) of the Old Testament comprises all the books of the canon which was afterwards published by the Council of Trent." (Lingard, *Hist. and Antiq.* ii. 317.) This is true in a manner. Elfric gives no regular catalogue of the books that he more or

Hence fault is found with the rendering of a passage which would make him to have thought differently.¹ As his great biblical authority, however, was Jerome, it would be rather strange if his views of Old Testament canonicity really did coincide with those of the Trentine divines.² Romanists, who turn to Jerome's

less translated, but he says something of them, one after the other, and assigns especial reasons for the insertion of those among them which are ecclesiastical or apocryphal.

¹ "According to Mr. Soames, Ælfric says that the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are not entitled to be read in the church, but from long custom and their general goodness of matter. How such a meaning can be extracted out of the words of Ælfric is a mystery; for he merely says, in allusion to the many lessons taken out of them, and read in the choral service, that *they are read in the church to great profit, and very frequently (man hig ræt on circan to micclum wisdomes swithe gewunelice)*." (Lingard, *ut supra*.) The mystery would have been a good deal cleared by extracting the whole that is said in the *Bampton Lectures* about these two books, instead of finding a new translation for a fragment of that which Ælfric says of them. The *Bampton Lectures* do not contain the original words, only L'Isle's translation, which is this, "Now there are two books more placed with Solomon's works, as if he made them, which for likeness of style and profitable use have gone for his; but Jesus, the son of Syrach, composed them. One is called *Liber Sapientiæ* (the Book of Wisdom), and the other *Ecclesiasticus*. Very large books, and read in the church, of long custom, for much good instruction." (p. 17.) Undoubtedly it is not expressly said here, as it is in the *Bampton Lectures*, that these books were not entitled to be read in the church, but from long custom, and their general goodness of matter; but these things are implied in the qualification by which they are introduced to the reader, as any body would see who had the whole truth laid before him. The writer's object was to show that Ælfric's canon of the Old Testament was not identical with that of the Council of Trent, and this very passage as to Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus is conclusive evidence of the fact. It rests lessons from these books, not upon the ground of canonicity, for that is substantially denied, but upon the grounds of usage and utility.

² L'Isle's Ælfric, 32. *Bampt. Lect.* 96. The Council of Trent followed Austin, instead of Jerome, in deciding upon the canon of the Old Testament. Now Austin had not the sort of learning which this case required; and, accordingly, many scholars, friendly to Rome, preferred Jerome's views of the canon to his, down to the time of the Reformation. When the Council of Trent had to decide, it preferred Austin. The ecclesiastical or apocryphal books had long passed for genuine Scripture, and contained passages thought favourable to some

*helmetted prologue*¹, which is subjoined to their own Vulgate, will find that father taking exactly the same view of the Old Testament canon that is taken by the Church of England and other reformed churches. Jerome admits no books as canonical but those that are found in the Hebrew Bibles, although he attributes a high degree of value to those books that are termed apocryphal by Protestants, but were anciently rather known as ecclesiastical.² Of these books, however, he says plainly, *they are not in the canon*.³

Romish tenets, which could ill be spared, at a time when proofs were loudly demanded for articles of faith. Passages accordingly are cited in favour of purgatory and the worship of saints, from Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, and Maccabees. See Marsh's *Comparative View*, p. 114.

¹ "The *Prologus galeatus* was so called, because it was considered as a sort of helmet at the head of Jerome's translation of the Hebrew Bible." Marsh, 97.

² Rufinus in his Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, appended to the works of Cyprian (p. 26.) names the canonical books of both Testaments, and then says, *It should, however, be known that there are also other books which have been called by the ancients, not canonical, but ecclesiastical; as is the Wisdom of Solomon, and another Wisdom, which is said to be the son of Syrach's, which book among the Latins passes currently under the name of Ecclesiasticus: by which word not the author of the little book, but the quality of the writing, is surnamed. Of the same order is the little book of Tobit, and Judith, and the books of Maccabees. And in the New Testament the little book which is called the Shepherd's, or Hermas's, which goes under the name of the two ways, or the judgment of Peter; all which they were indeed willing to have read in churches, but not to be brought forward for confirming the authority of faith out of them. The other scriptures they have named apocryphal, which they would have read in churches. The books universally called apocryphal were the spurious gospels, and other such pieces, to which a scriptural character was all but universally denied. Among such pieces Elfric places the Sibylline oracles, which he considers as inspired compositions, though no part of the Bible. For applying the term apocryphal to those portions of the Bible which Rufinus, after older authorities, had termed ecclesiastical, the Reformers had Jerome's authority. His Prologus galeatus declares that whatever is not in the canon which he produces from the Hebrew Bible is to be placed among the apocrypha ("inter apocrypha esse ponendum").*

³ "Igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Syrach liber, et Judith, et Tobias, et Pastor, non sunt in canone."

Elfric evidently trode here in the steps of Jerome. He mentions the ecclesiastical or apocryphal books, and with admissions of their utility, but he assigns especial reasons for the use of them individually. It is true that he does not, like Jerome, roundly pronounce them to be not in the canon. But his treatment of them intimates as much, and hence he places them in exactly the same position that is now given to them by the Church of England. In allowing them no higher station, the English reformers have been charged with a partial rejection of the Jewish Scriptures.¹ But, in truth, their actual position was assigned to these books, because they never formed, or could form, any part of the Jewish Scriptures. The view taken of them by those who reformed the Church of England, was borrowed from Jerome, whose very words are used in the article², and was considered by the Puritans as much more favourable than the books themselves deserved.

Upon the most important point in Elfric's theology,

Thus Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are ranked with the Shepherd of Hermas by Jerome.

¹ "Several books of the Jewish Scriptures were pronounced apocryphal by the new, while they were admitted as canonical by the old church." (Lingard, *Hist. Engl.* vii. 385.) To say nothing of Jerome's authority in contradiction to this statement, and of the want of Hebrew originals for the apocryphal books, the history is convicted of incorrectness here by a reproachful term given among Romish writers to the Jewish canon. We find it called by them "the canon of the Scribes and Pharisees." Marsh. *Comp. View*, 100.

² Art. 6. Jerome's words occur in his preface to Solomon's books. After mentioning Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song, he comes to Ecclesiasticus, and another spurious piece ("alius pseudepigraphus"), which is inscribed the Wisdom of Solomon. Of these books he adds, "Sicut ergo Judith, et Thobia, et Machabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed eos inter canonicas scripturas non recipit, sed et hæc duo volumina legit ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam."

charges of misrepresentation are very faintly brought. There have been, indeed, attempts to extort something like a Romish sense from the eucharistic views delivered both by him and Ratramn.¹ But such policy seems now abandoned for that of insulating Elfric, and making him deliver doctrine which the Anglo-Saxon church did not hold.² Unfortunately for this hypothesis, his homilies were approved by the archbishop of Canterbury.³ Such approval is pretty conclusive evidence that his teaching was conformable to that which prevailed in England. Still it is plain, that unless confirmation of his principles can be produced from other quarters, their national character will become questionable. This advantage, however, we are told, is one that Elfric's principles have never yet received. The same might be said, and has been said, even by Romanists, of Romish eucharistic doctrine before Radbert's time. Some of the principles put forth by that writer had never been enunciated in the same clear and positive manner before.⁴ They had always, we are told, been

¹ This is maintained in note M. of Dr. Lingard's *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, which is the germ of his recent publication on the same subject. The same thing was maintained by the president Mauquin, and one or two others, abroad. Pref. to the Fr. transl. of Ratramn, p. 13.

² Lingard, *Hist. and Antiq.* ii. 459. The passage is extracted in a preceding note.

³ The proof, extracted from Hickes's *Thesaurus*, may be seen in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 220.

⁴ Cardinal Bellarmine and the Jesuit Sirmond have made so much of Paschasius, that they did not fear to say that he was the first of all that wrote seriously of this argument of the Eucharist, and that he so explained the sense of the church that he opened the way to all the others that followed him who handled the matter. (Cosin, *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis*, Lond. 1675, p. 87.) Bp. Cosin proceeds to show that, in spite of Radbert's service to the modern Romish cause, he says many

entertained in the church ; but that is matter of controversy. Now it was Radbert's dealing with eucharistic questions which produced Ratramn's and Elfric's. One was the cause, the two others were the effect. As, however, it is said, on one side, that Radbert brought forth nothing that had not been immemorially entertained in the continental church, so it is also said, on the other, that Elfric brought forth nothing that had not been immemorially entertained in the Anglo-Saxon church. Nor has this assertion been nakedly made. On the contrary, "an array of testimony" has been brought forward to support it. Of course, people must judge for themselves as to the relevancy of this testimony. But readers who suppose that facilities for forming such a judgment have never been provided, are misled.¹

things unfavourable to it. His work alone will answer some reflections made by Dr. Lingard upon the present writer, for identifying Elfric's doctrine with that of preceding times. (*Hist. and Antiq.* ii. 460.) Protestants and Romanists join issue upon that question. The former positively deny that transubstantiation was the doctrine of the ancient church, either in Rome or any where else, and produce numerous passages to prove their denial.

¹ "Mr. Soames, however, appears to have felt the necessity of stating that other Anglo-Saxons have taught the same doctrine which is assigned to Ælfric. *Colour*, he says, *for charging him with innovation there is none whatever. The century before him had produced Erigena, the friend of Alfred. Erigena's doctrine might be connected satisfactorily with Bede. Thus Elfric merely finished, but with a vigour probably equalled by Erigena alone, that unyielding array of testimony against Lanfranc's new divinity, which echoes from the whole theological school of ancient England.* Now if this be so, if there existed any such array of testimony, if the doctrine attributed to Ælfric be echoed from the whole theological school of ancient England, what can be more easy than to prove the statement by referring to the works of these authors? But Mr. Soames is as silent with respect to proof as have been his predecessors. He produces no testimony ; he refers to no writing of the period ; he brings forward no authority for the assertion." (*Lingard, Hist. and Antiq.* ii. 462.) Undoubtedly, no testimony upon this sub-

One of the witnesses brought forward in support of Elfric's doctrine is Bede. Other passages are, however, cited from his writings, to prove him of a different opinion. But from these no such conclusion is to be drawn. They refer to faithful communicants, whose case is not in dispute. They say that "a memory of Christ's passion is renewed on the altar;" that bread and wine "pass" into the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which are "received by the mouths of the faithful to their salvation."¹ There is nothing in these passages inconsistent with Elfric's doctrine, or with that of the modern Church of England. It is in perfect consonance with both. Eucharistic worship really does "renew the memory of Christ's passion," render bread and wine the sacrament, or sacred sign of his body and blood, admit faithful communicants to a participation of his body and blood. Of these three things, the first two will, no doubt, apply to a modern Romish mass, or communion without communicants. The divine passion is commemorated in it, and sacred signs of divine substances are placed before the congregation. But are Christians to fall down on their knees, and worship sacraments or sacred signs? Bishop Fisher admits, that unless there be a transubstantiation,

ject is brought forward in the *Anglo-Saxon Church*, but that is only because the author had supplied it in an earlier work, the *Bampton Lectures* for 1830, where it may be found among the proofs and illustrations of Sermon 7.

¹ Lingard, *Hist. and Antiq.* ii. 463. Another passage by the side of these makes the Lamb's body and blood immolated anew in missal solemnities. But literal immolation is impossible. One might as well understand a literal renewal of the crucifixion by wicked men from *Heb.* vi. 6. Werfrith, cited by Dr. Lingard (p. 466.), copies Bede.

such worship is idolatrous.¹ Now, Bede speaks of receivers, not gazers. His divine presence, therefore, is connected only with communicants. He uses, besides, upon another occasion, that very passage from Austin, which Archbishop Parker inserted in the twenty-ninth article, as a witness against the doctrine of transubstantiation.² It may, therefore, be assumed, that his opinion upon the eucharistic presence coincided pretty completely with that prelate's. The same may be said of Alcuin, who likewise uses that very passage.³ Protestants, indeed, maintain not only that Erigena, Ratramn, and Elfric taught as had hitherto been usual in France and England, but also that such doctrine as theirs had prevailed everywhere down to the beginning of the ninth century. If it had been otherwise, how came Paschasius Radbert to attract so much notice? A great stir was not likely to be made on a sudden about opinions that had been generally entertained from time immemorial. Nor is it probable that such principles as Radbert's should have passed silently through eight centuries, as they must have done, if Romanists be right. How came they to be treated, when put forth by him, as if they had been new? To their novelty, however, at that time, we have a most competent witness in

¹ *It can be doubtful to no one, if nothing be in the Eucharist besides bread, but that the whole church, now for fifteen centenaries of years, has been idolatrous.* (Roffens, contra Æcolamp. *Opp.* 760.) That the Eucharist had been adored 1500 years when Bp. Fisher wrote, remains to be proved. But if this had been otherwise, it would still be necessary to prove that such adoration had the authority of the Apostles. There were errors in their days, as their epistles show.

² *Ad. Cor. Opp.* vi. 482.

³ *Opp.* i. 529.

Raban Maur, the famous archbishop of Mentz. He not only treats them as a late creation, but also brands them as an erroneous one.¹ In the former position, at least, he could scarcely be mistaken. There is, indeed, every reason for believing him. Radbert's doctrine received no synodical confirmation until the eleventh century, when it obtained an indirect one at the Council of Vercelli, by the condemnation of Eri-gena. Nor was transubstantiation formally established until the fourth Council of Lateran sat, nearly two centuries later. A very remarkable doctrine would never have waited so long for solemn recognition, if it had been admitted from the first.

¹ *Bampton Lectures* for 1830, p. 417.

CHAPTER XII.

DEVELOPMENT.

Use of recent religious movements. — Tradition found insufficient for papal purposes. — Nature of developments. — Evil germs for development planted in the apostolic age. — Scriptural intimations of them. — The sacerdotal germ. — The libertinistic germ. — Pagan germs. — The philosophic germ. — Disapprobation of it within the church. — The Judaistic germ. — Patristic authority for extra-scriptural germs. — Insufficiency of this. — Its efficacy misrepresented. — Extra-scriptural germs, notwithstanding aided by the Fathers to develop themselves. — Also by the Anglo-Saxon Church. — Progress of development as to the Eucharist. — Unsatisfactory confirmations produced from Scripture for extra-scriptural doctrines. — Some of them apparently of Pagan origin. — Others of Judaistic. — Full development of the sacerdotal germ. — No means of proving the Christian origin of extra-scriptural germs. — Advantage of discarding them. — The papacy their real authority. — The Roman see generally averse from reconsideration. — Yet not always. — Conclusion.

IN the last century, and the beginning of this, religious persons were made very uneasy by the prevalence of infidel writings. It was, indeed, a lamentable abuse of literary qualifications to form them into instruments for turning unstable, conceited, and half-principled minds away from the wholesome truths of revelation. But Providence brought good out of the evil. Unbelief no sooner put forth a fresh plea than the religious world found abundant answers to it. So that every attack placed Christian principles upon a position more unassailable than before. This fact

may re-assure those who dread a serious check to the progress of scriptural truth, from various advantages recently gained by Romanism. These really are not only in themselves of little importance, but also they have a certain tendency to lay the Latin system more bare than ever. That knowledge of it, which was general under the last two Stuart kings, had grown comparatively rare. Late events have again brought it in detail under the public eye. Different writers have defended or attacked it in different ways. Thus men are continually becoming better qualified for judging of its claims to confidence.

Of these claims no one was long advanced so resolutely as tradition. When the Bible became thoroughly unsealed, Romish divines did not venture to represent it as a sufficient guarantee for the soundness of their faith. Various tenets are maintained in the papal church, that cannot, with any certainty, or even, as many scholars think, with any probability, be found in Scripture. Authority for these was customarily claimed from tradition. Apostles, we have been told might not write, but certainly taught all these extra-scriptural doctrines, as is proved by their uninterrupted reception in the church. Such proof has been disputed from the Reformation downwards. It has been triumphantly shown over and over again, that Romish peculiarities are either not to be traced at all, or only in some very faint and obscure beginnings, among the church's earliest records. As the controversy is now carried, and likely to be farther carried into quarters that have hitherto disregarded it, evidence of this kind may seriously damage the Latin

cause. Its advocates have, therefore, thought it advisable to depend less than heretofore upon tradition. They allow that primitive authority for their peculiar doctrines is dubious and insufficient. Instead of clear teaching in early times, they only venture to claim obscure intimations. Doctrinal germs, they represent, were planted, which the church, under heavenly guidance, gradually developed. Attempts are, therefore, no longer to be made, for covering the silence and apparent incompatibility of Scripture, under the plea of some uninterrupted tradition. This defence has broken down so thoroughly, that a knowledge of its failure can be confined no longer to theologians. Every reader of theology may see the fact confessed. Romanism could not be flattered by an unwonted gleam of hope, and Romish controversy could not be roused once more into full activity without making the whole religious world aware, that neither Scripture, nor tradition, will shield such theology as the papal see maintains. Its advocates have, therefore, been to seek, and have found, new quicksands in some subtle theory of development.

This fresh adventure being of a speculative kind, may be best understood, like other abstract questions, by holding it up to the light of nature. Now, organic life is one series of development and decay. Adult age is a development of infancy. But all developments are not of that kind. The child expands into a man by a healthy and a natural process. Man's integuments, however, are capable of expansion under processes that are unhealthy and unnatural. Their bulk may be increased by means of wens, or car-

buncles, or other physical evils, of a nature more or less parasitic, but still dependent for continuous vitality upon the man himself. The human frame is also liable to other processes, which are unhealthy and unnatural, and are strictly developments, although they do not increase bulk. Thus it is commonly and truly said, that parties have within them seeds of disease, which only want time and opportunity for development. Some alien and hostile influence has taken hold upon the constitution, which would suffer from it severely, if not also ruinously, should circumstances favourable to its latent energies call them forth. There is no reason for doubting that an analogy may be fairly drawn from these physical truths to questions that are merely speculative.

It is not necessary, therefore, that developments in religious doctrine should be of a healthy and natural kind. Some alien and hostile influence may fasten itself upon religious belief, as it may upon organic bodies, and gradually develop itself under circumstances favourable to its growth. Influences of this kind are coeval with the diffusion of Christianity. The most superficial readers of Scripture are aware of some very early attempts to judaise the rising church¹, and of a strange profanation, at Corinth, of the Lord's Supper.² The latter abuse appears to have been effectually checked at once by apostolical authority. The former evil was much more tenacious. *Philosophy and vain deceit* were also to be dreaded³,

¹ *Acts*, xv.

² *1 Cor.* xi. 18.

³ *Col.* ii. 8. "Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam, et inanem fallaciam, secundum traditionem hominum, secundum elementa mundi, et non secundum Christum." *Vulg.*

*Antichrists went out from the Christian fold*¹, even while Apostles were yet alive, as we learn from the New Testament itself. Thus alien and hostile influences took hold upon the Church from the very beginning of her existence. Hence the soundness of religious principles would not be sufficiently proved by tracing them, however unequivocally, up to the very time when Apostles lived. They must also be traced up to the Apostles themselves, or there would be no sufficient reason for confiding in them. Suppose it were shown that a germ was planted in apostolic times, we may learn from the apostles Paul, Peter, John, and Jude that it might notwithstanding be no plantation by apostolic hands. The development of it consequently, in the Christian body, would be merely analogous to some morbid development in an organic body. Materials for developments of this kind might seem to have accumulated abundantly during apostolic times. The New Testament expressly mentions Nicolaitans as a *hateful sect*², names two persons who taught false doctrine respecting the resurrection³, and gives intimations of other parties, whose tenets were to be shunned.⁴ While, however, the

¹ 1 *John*, ii. 18, 19. "Et nunc Antichristi multi facti sunt; unde scimus quia novissima hora est. Ex nobis prodierunt, sed non erant ex nobis." *Vulg.*

² *Rev.* ii. 6. 15. "Sed hoc habes, quia odisti facta Nicolaitarum, quæ et ego odi. — Ita habes et tu tenentes doctrinam Nicolaitarum." (*Vulg.*) The English authorised version follows a text which has δ μισῶ instead of ὀμολῶς at the end of v. 15.

³ 2 *Tim.* ii. 17, 18. "Et sermo eorum ut cancer serpit: ex quibus est Hymenæus et Philetus: qui a veritate exciderunt, dicentes resurrectionem esse jam factam, et subverterunt quorundam fidem." *Vulg.*

⁴ 1 *Tim.* vi. 20, 21. 3 *John*, 9. Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, 6. "Again we learn from the same Irenæus, in which he is supported by many early writers, that St. John published his Gospel to oppose the heresy of Cerinthus." *Ibid.* 30.

Apostles yet survived, error was kept in check, but no sooner were they wholly gone, than it cast off all restraint.¹ Many religious bodies arose professing opinions that are not capable of proof from the New Testament. They notwithstanding claimed the Christian name, and ordinarily professed to have drawn their peculiar opinions from a traditional deposit of apostolic teaching.² These original traditionists are, however, universally and justly branded with heresy. But surely their appearance at a date so very early, shows the hazard of assuming the apostolicity of a doctrine, merely because its germ is of remote antiquity. But if this principle will apply to the primitive heresies, it will also to other doctrines which have not

¹ "The same author (Hegesippus), relating the events of the times, also says, that the church continued until then as a pure and uncorrupt virgin; whilst, if there were any at all that attempted to pervert the sound doctrine of the saving gospel, they were yet skulking in dark retreats; but when the sacred choir of the Apostles became extinct, and the generation of those that had been privileged to hear their inspired wisdom had passed away, then also the combinations of impious error arose by the fraud and delusion of false teachers. These also, as there were none of the Apostles left, henceforth attempted without shame to preach their false doctrine against the gospel of truth. Such is the statement of Hegesippus." (Euseb. iii. 32. Ed. Vales. p. 84. Engl. Transl. 144. Chemnitz, *Exam. Conc. Trid.* iii. 183. Mosheim, *Institutiones Hist. Christ. Majores*, Helmst. 1739, p. 309.) Valois, in his notes upon Eusebius (p. 49.), would restrain this testimony of Hegesippus (which also occurs in the fourth book of Eusebius, ch. 22.) to the church of Jerusalem; and Mosheim, in his *Institutiones Majores* (p. 315.), agrees to that opinion.

² "We know that the Gnostics were not ashamed to claim as their founders the Apostles, or friends of the Apostles. These same Nicolaitans are stated to have quoted a saying of Matthias in support of their opinions. The followers of Marcion and Valentinus professed also to hold the doctrine of Matthias; those of Basilides laid claim to the same apostle, or to Glaucias, who, they said, was interpreter to St. Peter. Valentinus boasted also of having heard Theudas, an acquaintance of St. Paul." Burton's *Bampt. Lect.* 154. Mosheim, *Inst. Maj.* 369.

been formally pronounced heretical, but which cannot be proved from the New Testament. The germ of them might not be introduced by any conspicuous leader, or in any remarkable manner, and its growth might not be so forced as to make up at once a regular system. But it might be, notwithstanding, an alien and an hostile influence established in the Christian body. Hence when after times aided its development, they did no more than nurture a plant which apostolic hands had never planted, and would have cast aside, had it come before them.

The germs for future development, which the Apostles would fain have rooted out, we find from their own writings to have been three.¹ One of these was the philosophic germ. The philosophy of Greece did not bear upon Christianity in their time. But intellectual conceit of oriental birth fastened upon it from the first. The Gnostics, as they were called, or people who really *did* know something of spiritual things, were early in claiming the Gospel as a new manifestation of their own system.² The Apostles they treated as quite unequal to a complete understanding of all the sublimer doctrines which were conveyed in our Saviour's known discourses. If men would comprehend such admirable truths, they must listen to those who were illuminated like themselves.³

¹ Mosheim, *Inst. Maj.* 315.

² "Philosophi quibuscum res illis" (Apostolis, sc.) "fuit, Orientales illi sunt philosophi, qui γνῶσιν quamdam, seu accuratam rerum a sensibus remotarum et divinarum cognitionem sibi arrogabant, ideoque *Gnostici* aut ab aliis dicebantur, aut ipsimet vocari volebant." *Ibid.*

³ "Contemnebant hi simplicitatem Apostolorum, atque rationem dogmatum ab ipsis Christi verbis traditorum ex Dei, materiæ, spirituum, cæterarumque rerum æternarum et a sensibus remotarum natura,

The conceited system of these men was of long standing in the East; and besides its attractions for human vanity, it boasted of a documentary connection with the most venerable antiquity. It produced Adam's Revelation, Eve's Gospel, the Books of Seth, the Book of Noah's wife, Abraham's Revelation, and other such pieces.¹ These names were quite enough to overawe an ignorant age. People thought not of criticism. They could not suspect books which were undoubtedly very ancient, and passed unquestioned with many well-informed, well-conducted men.² Against such pretences, backed by complete self-confidence in the teachers, the remote antiquity of their opinions, and considerable outward strictness, if not moral purity in themselves, the Apostles could not completely prevail. But Gnosticism waited for its most conspicuous triumphs until all of them were gone. Then it put forth new gospels of its own³, and so tortured the real text of Scripture by allegories and forced interpretations, as to make it say any thing that was required. Nay, more: the Gnostics charged Scripture with intentional obscurity. Our Lord's genuine meaning, they said, was privately communicated to

quam sibi perspectam esse mentiebantur, reddendam esse contendebant." Mosheim, *Inst. Maj.* 316.

¹ *Ibid.*

² "Neque vero sentiendum est ex Gnosticorum ingenio in lucem editas esse inficetas hasce chartas. Antequam enim Servator noster ad homines descenderet, hujus generis libri inter Persas, Arabes, Chaldæos, et Syrios circumlati sunt, immo adhuc inter eos circumferuntur." *Ibid.* 367.

³ "Religionem quam profitebantur, ut ipsius esse Christi probarent, historias vitæ et rerum gestarum Servatoris nostri in medium proferebant, ab illis, quas reliqui omnes legebant Christiani, non quidem omnibus partibus, at multis tamen rebus diversis." *Ibid.* 368.

his disciples, and under a charge that it should be reserved by them for the ears of such as should be worthy of receiving it.¹ As Gnosticism has long since passed away, these features of it may seem nothing better than literary curiosities. But it is far from certain, that although the Christian world has wholly lost the name, it has also wholly lost the thing. In very early times, Christian teachers were sorely disquieted by the Gnostics, but nothing could be more injudicious than their mode of dealing with them. They might have learnt from this controversy the folly of interpreting Scripture upon any other principles than those of sound criticism; but recondite senses were the fashion of the day. Both Jew and Christian met one allegory by another. Thus all parties agreed in treating the Bible as an open field for the display of ingenuity or authority.² Nor can we be sure, when belief is asked for some doctrine incapable of scriptural proof, whether it may not be for some offshoot from the old Gnostic heresy. Thus, although the germ may be coeval with the Apostles, or even with the Babylonish captivity, or older still, it has any thing rather than the character of apostolic planting. It might have come into the church from

¹ Mosheim, *Inst. Mag.* 368. Mosheim there gives the passages from Irenæus that prove his position.

² "Hæc enim sacros libros exponendi ratio, quod ex Barnaba, Irenæo, et aliis, maxime ex Origene, liquet, Gnosticorum temporibus inter Judæos non minus quam Christianos, ubique recepta et usitata erat: neque Christiani propterea, nisi semet ipsi simul reprehendere et refellere vellent, eam contemnere et condemnare poterant. Hinc quod miserandum sit, Irenæus inprimis et Origenes sudant et laborant, quum vanis his et futilibus fabulis occurrere volunt, nec tamen solidum aliquid et certum ad eas evertendas pariunt." *Ibid.* 371.

men of credit in their way, but whom St. Paul will only compliment with "science falsely so called."¹

Another germ for development, against which the Apostles contended, was of a sacerdotal nature. Many of the Jews were won partly over to the Christian church, but would only enter it on their own terms. These were, that a new system should be formed, not by superseding that of Moses by that of Christ, but by fusing the two together.² In this way the Christian church was to be made a sort of extension and improvement of the Levitical. Many of the peculiar features, accordingly, of this latter were to be retained. One of the consequences that flowed from this scheme was a denial of our Lord's divinity.³ If Jesus really was the Son of God, his immolation on the cross, for human transgression, must be a sufficient atonement for it, and consequently amount to an abrogation of the Mosaic system, which merely typified such a sacrifice. To evade the consequence, half-reclaimed Judaism would only allow Jesus to

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20. "Oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ." (*Vulg.*) The English authorised version appears here to follow the Vulgate. The original is ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως. *The knowledge* might seem here better than *science*; though both terms would be equally unmeaning to the unlearned reader. This text was seen so plainly by contemporaries to be levelled at the Gnostics, that it was continually cited against them; and hence, we are told by Clement of Alexandria, they rejected both St. Paul's epistles to Timothy. Mosheim, *Inst. Maj.* 316.

² "Judæorum doctores multum negotii et molestiæ legatis Servatoris nostri exhibuisse, quod cæremonias a Mose majoribus suis præscriptas abrogari et ex Mosis Christique disciplina tertiam quandam conflari volebant, notissimum est ex S. Pauli epistolis." *Ibid.*

³ "Constat testimoniis minime dubiis, illos ex Judæorum magistris, qui pro cæremoniis Mosaicis retinendis pugnarent, divinitati etiam Servatoris nostri inimicos extitisse, neque majorem quam hominis, aut divini, aut divinitus eruditi, gloriam ipsi reliquisse." *Ibid.* 317.

have been a sort of divine man, or one divinely instructed.¹ Hence the Epistle to the Hebrews lays its foundation by asserting the real divinity of Christ. From this the inspired writer argues, that Jesus had fulfilled what Moses typified; and consequently, as the *good things to come* had actually taken place, the shadow of them should be laid aside.² Of his reasoning the part alone which asserted Christ's divinity completely triumphed. Men were still willing to believe that something analogous to the Mosaic system was to continue under the Gospel. It is this disposition which developed itself so strongly in the sacerdotal movements of mediæval times. The question is, Was any principle regularly leading to such development rooted in the church by apostolic hands? It is admitted that no such principle can be satisfactorily detected in the apostolic writings, and for this fact specious reasons have been assigned. But as the Apostles have left much that is adverse to the sacerdotal system, it may be fairly doubted whether they

¹ "Paulus, cæterique veritatis divinæ præcones disputabant, ritus a Mose mandatos ideo abrogandos esse, quod futurorum beneficiorum et perpassionum Messia signa et imagines tantum essent, quæ, Messia ipso exhibito et vice hominum in crucem acto, vitæque reddito, nullum amplius usum præstarent. Hanc rationem nullo modo frangere potuissent cærimoniarum veterum amici, si concessissent Jesum esse filium Dei, Messiam patribus promissum, humani generis Servatorem, qui justitiæ divinæ semetipsum pro peccatis hominum immolasset. Illo enim dato, dandum hoc quoque fuisset, sacrificiis et cæteris ritibus, expiato semel per mortem Jesu Christi genere humano, haud amplius opus esse: quod quidem S. Paulus in *Epistola ad Hebræos* luculentissime et solidissime demonstrat." Mosheim, *Inst. Maj.* 316.

² Heb. x. 1. "Umbram enim habens lex futurorum bonorum." (*Vulg.*) The preceding chapter argues this matter, and most powerfully. Those who would wish to be guided by inspiration in judging of the Romish missal system, should carefully and humbly read that chapter.

did not contemplate its total discontinuance. Hence Christian belief in priesthood and material sacrifice, although seemingly a development of a germ planted in apostolic times, may come from nothing planted by apostolic hands. On the contrary, parts of the New Testament may have been written with a view to keep Christians from falling into any such opinions.

The third germ for future developments which caused uneasiness to the Apostles, was an enthusiastic libertinism. This class of adversaries had neither philosophical nor ceremonial prejudices. Its distinguishing feature was a hatred of restraint, and it hailed the Gospel as a complete emancipation from all the spiritual guides that had hitherto repressed human licentiousness.¹ Christian liberty was represented as the complete realisation of man's natural freedom. Those who truly believed on the Saviour were no longer bound by such *carnal ordinances* as had been *imposed* upon men *until the time of reformation*.² That time had now come, and none who were wise enough to take advantage of it, need either be troubled by a slavish adherence to religious formal-

¹ "Tertiam familiam, quæ innocentiam aurei Christianorum sæculi contaminavit, diserte admodum S. Petrus *epistolæ* II. *cap.* ii., et Judas in *epistola* depingunt. Ille vaticinatur sceleratos ejusmodi homines prodituros esse: hic eos jam in lucem progressos et inter Christianos impudenter versantes detestatur. Utriusque descriptio ita inter se concinit, nulli ut dubium esse queat, quin uterque de uno eodemque hominum genere loquatur. Improbissimi hi mortalium nec philosophiæ cuidam sese addixerant, nec rituum studio flagrabant, sed quod utroque multo deterius est, sanctissimam Jesu Christi disciplinam libidinum et vitiorum omnium magistram esse contendebant, ipsaque vita impurissima tetrum hoc dogma confirmabant." Mosheim, *Inst. Maj.* 318.

² Heb. ix. 10. "Justitiis carnis usque ad tempus correctionis impositis." *Vulg.*

ities, or disquieted by the moral slips of an erring nature. Faith would cover all. Such fanatical wildness does not necessarily argue vicious habits or even dispositions. But, in most cases, both evils are at the bottom of it, and it could not become general without increasing immensely human proneness to immoral indulgence. Hence the apostles Peter and Jude urgently warn against it. Incontinence appears to have been the most conspicuous vice of these pretenders to an enlarged and enlightened Christianity. St. Jude, accordingly, charges them with *turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness*¹, and St. Peter prophetically describes them as those who shall *walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness*.² He also taxes this rising party with *covetous practices*³, and with an antipathy to civil government. St. Jude, who speaks of it as in full activity, does the same.⁴ Thus this libertine party was greedy of sensuality and gain, and eager to throw off the yoke of established power. Its principles, therefore, were the same that created a conspicuous outbreak among the fanatical anabaptists of Germany in Luther's time. Nor have such principles ever been extinct in the Christian body. Some

¹ Jude 5. "Dei nostri gratiam transferentes in luxuriam (ἀσέλγειαν)." *Vulg.*

² 2 Pet. ii. 10. "Qui post carnem in concupiscentia immunditiæ ambulant." *Vulg.*

³ 2 Pet. ii. 14. "Cor exercitatum avaritia habentes." *Vulg.*

⁴ Jude 8. 11. "Dominationem autem spernunt, majestatem autem blasphemant.—Dominationemque contemnunt." (2 Pet. ii. 10.) "Constituebant nimirum nefandi homines, nulli mortalium jus et facultatem esse aliis imperandi, sed unumquemque suo arbitrato vivere debere, eosque, qui regum et magistratuum in dignitate tum positi erant, contumeliis et maledictis lacerabant, quod libertatem hominum refrænare et legibus cohibere audent." (Mosheim, *Inst. Maj.* 318.) "Errore Balaam mercede effusi sunt." *Vulg.*

delirious enthusiast brings them forward, probably, with no ill intention, or any immoral propensity. But others, who have little or no genuine fanaticism at bottom, eagerly take them up to excuse their own depravity, and authorise obedience to its impulses. It should never be forgotten, that a disposition to such shameful abuses of religious truth is as old as Christianity itself. It might as well be charged upon the teaching of Jude, as upon that of Luther. The germ is of apostolic antiquity, if not of higher still. Like some other very ancient plants in the Christian garden, it merely wants congenial soil and favourable seasons for development. But in this case no one argues that possession, mounting up to apostolic times, is any evidence of apostolic planting. There is no sufficient reason why the same view should not be taken of any other case in the same predicament.

Soon after all the Apostles were dead, new germs for future development were engrafted upon the Christian system. Paganism did not sink under a conversion at once rapid and complete. Heathen belief might be without evidence, and supported by fictions, which, however fitted for poetic embellishment, were quite irreconcilable with common sense. But it could appeal to a tradition far older than that which modern Romanism can boast, and its mythology may fairly challenge an equality with Romish hagiology. It was also a faith professed by patrician families from time immemorial, admirably fitted for captivating humbler life, and in favour of which even learned men were strongly prejudiced. Wealth, numbers, and erudition, therefore, all stood in the way of

Christian teaching. But it found an auxiliary among thinking men, in the more glaring defects of heathenism. Many a good understanding saw the deficiency of Pagan evidence, the evils of a mythology that exhibited immoral divinities, and of a system that sensualised mankind. Hence there quickly arose among the intellectual classes a disposition to hail Christianity as an admirable instrument for curing inveterate evils. But very often men who saw something of the truth, only thought of meeting it half way. Philosophy had never lowered itself to the grossness of Paganism. Some of its adherents became intent upon allying it with Christianity. The two were considered capable of such an amalgamation as would satisfy in a most beneficial manner the religious wants of men. Thus another germ for development was introduced into the church. The Apostles had seen a germ from oriental philosophy implant itself, in spite of their opposition. A succeeding generation of teachers, and one at no great distance from apostolic times, witnessed a fresh philosophic planting, but from the West. In this case, there was no check from those who had actually conversed with Christ, and were directed by inspiration. The schools of Greece, besides, did not shock habits of rational belief by those picturesque but fantastic theories by which Gnosticism had won admiration in the East. Such imaginative flights were quite unfitted for the West. Her more sober spirits aimed merely to fuse with Christianity the most rational and least offensive parts of systems which had long been stamped by public ap-

probation. They were elaborately formed by men of consummate intellectual eminence, and with improvements from the Gospel, nothing seemed so likely to renovate mankind.

Philosophers, accordingly, who embraced Christianity, did not lay aside the philosophic habit¹, or cease to recommend many of their old opinions. The first who thus appeared and taught in the Christian Church seems to have been Justin Martyr.² The first place which saw systematic attempts at an amalgamation of the Christian and Philosophic systems was Alexandria.³ There Pantænus, Athenagoras, and Clement laboured, in the second century, to raise a Christian school, which should nullify pagan opposition by embodying the best parts of Paganism. The philosophy which they thus aimed at pressing into the service of Christ, was not that of any one particular sect. It was made up of the best parts from the whole body of philosophers. A consistent system, they thought, might be formed from the scattered excellences of philosophic literature, which right reason would confirm, but which had waited for illustration and perfect usefulness until Christianity appeared.⁴ Both Philosophy and Christianity are pro-

¹ Justin Martyr makes Trypho the Jew recognise his philosophic character by his habit. (*Opp.* 217.) Other instances to the same effect may be seen in Mosheim's *De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum*, p. 273.

² "Atque hoc, uti arbitror, antiquiorem præconem Philosophia inter Christianos non habet." Mosheim, *ut supra*.

³ This appears from Origen, who names no earlier Christian philosopher than Pantænus, in a letter to excuse himself. Mosheim, *ut supra*.

⁴ "Philosophian autem hi vocabant non sectæ cujusdam disciplinam, verum delectum sententiarum rectæ rationi, ut ipsi quidem

nounced by Clement of Alexandria divine revelations.¹ Only the former, like the Mosaic system, had been revealed by the ministry of angels, the latter by the Lord himself. Hence this writer expressly terms Christianity a *philosophy derived from Christ*. He even speaks of it as founded upon that philosophy which had been taught among the Greeks.² He admits, however, that all philosophic systems, whether Grecian or barbaric, had been corrupted. Using our Lord's parable of the tares and wheat, he makes the great enemy of human souls to have sown false principles in the religious field which philosophers had cultivated under heavenly guidance.³ Their mission was to the Gentiles, as that of Moses was to the Jews. Each of the parties delivered a system from above, particularly fitted for the men to whom it was addressed, and capable of leading them to salvation. Neither of the systems, however, was of a perfect order, and both of them were gradually corrupted. Perfection in either case was unattainable before the coming of Christ.⁴ By this both systems were not only to be completed, but also their extraneous principles were to be purged away. It is the obvious

putabant, consentaneorum, et per omnes sectas sparsarum, Christianis dogmatibus temperatum et illustratum." *Ibid.*

¹ "Græcæ philosophiæ origines ad Deum ipsum referre non dubitat, quem per inferiores angelos eam tradidisse arbitratur." *Ibid.* 274.

² "Ait philosophiam Græcis divinitus datam, esse tanquam proprium quoddam testamentum sive fœdus, eamque fundamentum esse philosophiæ quam a Christo accepimus." *Ibid.* 275.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Merito ergo Judæis quidem lex, Græcis autem data est philosophia usque ad adventum Christi." (*Ibid.*) Mosheim gives the original passages, of which this and the note but one above are translations.

nature of such theories to act most injuriously upon Scripture. Men were led by them into habits of speculating upon divine revelations which receive no countenance from the sacred records, and of admitting philosophers to rank with apostles and prophets. Few things could have a more dubious claim to the character of genuine Christianity, than germs left for development by such views as these.

The first engrafting of these germs upon the Christian system was far from unobserved, or universally approved, among the disciples of Jesus. Many of them looked upon the process with displeasure and apprehension. It had a tendency to undermine that moral strictness which a small, pious, and persecuted body like theirs was pushing even within the bounds of asceticism. Philosophy, though the strictest and most rational form of paganism, had a pliancy quite unknown to scriptural Christianity, however soberly professed. Hence the severer Christian spirits could not endure its advances within their self-denying society. They even denounced Philosophy as an infernal device, ingeniously provided for the ruin of mankind.¹ But it had possession of the great and learned; and Christian convictions could rarely make their way among such persons without philosophic modifications. Ammonius Saccas, at Alexandria, as the second century was closing, became conspicuous

¹ "Clemens fuisse quosdam ætate sua memorat, qui philosophiam mali et infernalis genii inventum esse, et ad humani generis detrimentum ac perniciem natam dicerent: quos contra vehementer pugnat." Mosheim, *De turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia, Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes*. Altonav. 1743, i. 96.

above any other teacher for thus fusing Christianity with Philosophy. He went, indeed, so far as to aim at a general comprehension with it of all that seemed excellent among heathen sages.¹ A formal profession of the Gospel was in this way rendered unnecessary, Christ being merely treated as one among the religious and moral benefactors of mankind.² As these views of his character and principles continually gained ground, a large party arose in the more intellectual classes that hovered, in a manner, between Christianity and Paganism. Out of this many openly passed over to the church, but others would only go so far as to profess themselves enlightened and liberal Gentiles. As men, however, dropped off who coquetted with Christianity, but would not finally close with it, their places were supplied by others of information and condition, who felt no difficulty in disclaiming the pagan religion. Still, such converts were seldom prepared for a radical surrender of their old opinions. They came to Christianity under a profound reverence for Philosophy. Plato was generally their avowed master, and in his principles they saw a fit companion for the Gospel.³ This was the class that sup-

¹ "Moliebatur vero Ammonius, quod ex disputationibus et scriptis discipulorum ejus liquet, non modo sectarum omnium philosophicarum, tam Græcarum, quam Barbaricarum, verum etiam omnium religionum, ipsiusque Christianæ ac ethnicæ religionis, concordiam, atque omnes omnium gentium bonos et sapientes viros, tanquam unius matris filios, ut in unam migrarent familiam, contentionibus et rixis omissis, adducere studebat." Mosheim, *De Reb. ante Const. M.* 283.

² "Neque enim hoc genus Jesum Christum execrabatur, aut quæ ex ore ejus docebant Christiani, magnam partem egregia et præclara esse, negabat, sed concordiam quandam religionum omnium, seu universalem religionem, sub quam et Christiana cogi posset, moliebatur." *Ibid.* 561.

³ "Philosophi ex Ammonii schola egressi, et Platonicorum sibi

plied eminent churchmen, especially after Origen's time. That great man is universally accused of adulterating Christianity with Platonism.¹ Yet many of his disciples became ecclesiastics of high station and great influence.² This philosophic infusion soon showed itself by the appearance in the church of principles unwarranted by Scripture. Human fears, under a consciousness of confirmed immorality, were allayed by theories of some posthumous purgation³:

nomen sumentes, quorum disciplina per universum fere orbem Romanum manabat, et reliquarum omnium sectarum gloriam sensim obscurabat." (*Ibid.* 560.) "Quum ex ipsis etiam Platoniorum scholis multi ad Christi transirent." (561.) The fact of Platonic conversions Mosheim establishes by a citation from Austin. A far more striking passage bearing upon this subject, he cites from that father, in his *De turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia*. Clement of Alexandria, he says, makes Plato to have drawn all his best principles from Moses and the Jews. He adds, that among followers of Clement, respect for Plato went so far, that not only they recommended the reading of him to their pupils before any other, but also in their disputations with adversaries of the Christian doctrine, they protected themselves by his authority; nor did they fear to contend, that the old Platonics, that I may use the words of Austin, if they could pass this life again, A FEW WORDS AND OPINIONS BEING CHANGED, would go over to the Christian religion. Therefore, the Christian philosopher, as he was in the second century, and in the following ones, was an Eclectic, who took, indeed, from all the sects of the philosophers what he thought not repugnant to the Christian religion; still, however, he considered Plato better than all the other philosophers, and least far removed from the teaching of our Saviour. *Dissert.* i. 98.

¹ "Quem omnes queruntur Platonis scitis doctrinam Christianam adulterasse." *Ibid.* 116.

² "Discipuli isti Origenis summis inter Christianos muneribus passim præfiebantur." *Ibid.*

³ First then in Plato, who flourished about 400 years before the incarnation of Christ, I find the popish purgatory exactly to the same purport, and almost in the same words that it is described by the papists; who, as he built it upon philosophical foundations, and from the imaginations of human reason, it will be hence manifest whence the purgatorial opinion first arose and sprang; and afterwards, when among ecclesiastical doctors Platonic philosophers began to be in great admiration, it began to be mingled among disputations of the church. (*Exam. Conc. Trid.* iii. 78.) Chemnitz then answers those who would have

man's corrupt habit of seeking powerful interest, raised up a host, in the Christian church as it had in the Pagan, of inferior mediators¹: in time, vulgar grossness and love of finery were again indulged by pliant Philosophy with places of worship, where pictured saints and other gaudy traps for religious notice beguiled men into a passage from cherished Paganism to professed Christianity. Besides these evils, the allowance given by philosophers to falsehood, when pressed into the service of truth, found a place in the church for systematic imposition.² The old Gnostic philosophy, when half christianised, had provided a store of apocryphal Scriptures, and other such modes of sustaining its credit.³ Eclectic and Platonic philosophy, half christianised, took the same

Plato to have learnt his purgatorial doctrine in Egypt from a scriptural tradition preserved there, by observing that there is no trace of this doctrine in the Old Testament, and by citing a disputation of Plato's from the *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius. This makes the philosopher to have heard only of two states after death from the Egyptian sages. Chemnitz then produces another passage from Plato, in which that philosopher places the third or purgatorial state upon reasonings of his own.

¹ *For the Platonics, between the supreme God and between men, placed twofold mediators, by whose intercession and operation the prayers of mortals might be carried to God, and their business done, good spirits (Dæmones) namely, and souls of the dead. For those in this mortal life of the human race whom they knew to have been eminently meritorious, their souls, they thought, after death, as become nearer to God, both cared for human things, and could serve them very greatly with God. The proofs of these assertions follow. Exam. Conc. Trid. iii. 179.*

² Mosheim produces Plato's authority for lying in the cause of truth, and defences of it supplied by Origen, and even Chrysostom." *Disser.* i. 203.

³ *They forged some things that they might get more authority and credit for the philosophy in which they delighted; other things on this account, that they should make Christ and those who lived with him to have favoured their absurdities. Ibid. 232.*

course. Western Christianity would not be behind eastern in fictitious documents and pretended miracles. Thus a religion, which insists upon strict integrity, and breathes the soundest wisdom, became a prey to dishonesty and stupidity. Scripture was powerless to stem this torrent of fraud and folly. Even eminent men persisted in extracting from the Bible recondite senses, and Christ's private teaching was represented as very different from his public. The latter, of course, was that which is to be found in the New Testament. Our Lord's confidential communications, which are the key to his whole doctrine, were not placed upon record, but merely imprinted upon the memories of his faithful followers, from whom they descended orally to a select few among posterity.¹ Thus it is that man's corrupt, conceited, and exclusive nature is ever working. He must find a way for setting up a caste, and for making records say exactly what he wants.

Besides the philosophic graft, another germ for human nature to develop showed itself among Christians in the second century. They had admitted Philosophy, because it was the glory of their more distinguished converts, and seemed likely to extinguish opposition by a judicious compromise. They were prepared for the second germ, by veneration for

¹ *Esoteric* instructions, or those given *within*, to select auditors; and *exoteric*, or those delivered *without*, to mixed assemblages, were well known distinctions in the philosophic schools. *Therefore they easily persuaded themselves that our most holy Saviour and his ambassadors had taught by the same laws, and, besides public precepts, had given some secret and apart, which they imparted only to a few and select hearers. Ibid.* 256.

God's ancient church, and fond remembrance of her gorgeous, expiatory ritual. Of her divinely constituted seat she now appeared hopelessly deprived. Adrian had again destroyed Jerusalem, rebuilt it, changed its name to Ælia Capitolina, and studiously desecrated it. From these mournful events many Christians inferred a providential design to replace the Jewish priesthood by another like it in their own body.¹ As Moses, however, had made priesthood hereditary in a single family, which could no longer be traced, and restricted material sacrifices to a single place, which could no longer be used for ministrations of a levitical kind, Providence might have meant to signify, that religious worship was in future to present no feature properly sacrificial. Realities having come at Calvary, types could not only be dispensed with, but also might mislead. Experience had shown them to have this tendency. The Mosaic system was habitually abused in ancient Israel. Vainly did prophets warn against a trust in ceremonial formalities.² People would not hear of internal change, so long as they were prepared with costly sacrifices. As men are very prone to such delusions, the Christian church would have done wisely to keep up a marked distinc-

¹ Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante Const. M.* 271. In a note Mosheim says, that this adaptation of Mosaic principles to Christian purposes *undoubtedly* gave rise to claims for tithes and first-fruits by the Christian clergy. He suggests, that *perhaps* an eye to such claims impelled Christian ministers, who were galled by narrow and precarious circumstances, to talk of themselves as successors to the Jewish priesthood. This is, however, not a very liberal suggestion, or one confirmed by the general character of clergymen. It is more probable that they took Jewish views of their order from admiration of the Jewish hierarchy and worship.

² Is. i. 11, *et seq.* Ps. li. 16. Prov. xxi. 3. Hos. vi. 6. Mic. vi. 6, *et seq.*

tion between herself and her Mosaic predecessor. But such was not the temper of the times. Probably, Philosophy had undermined a scrupulous deference to Scripture. Undoubtedly the presbyterate, or episcopate, passed easily for some sort of priesthood¹, and eucharistic offerings for a kind of material sacrifice. Thus Christians could no longer be taunted by either Jews or Pagans, with wanting priests, offerings, and altars, which people ordinarily thought required by religious worship. At first little harm, perhaps, arose from these adaptations; but in time they produced among Christians all the errors and abuses that had been engrafted on the old levitical system. Men again depended on a formal piety for doing the work of substantial goodness. They could not quite overlook the hollowness of their devotion, but it was to gain sufficient efficacy from the commission of their clergy. As this doctrine assumes a proper priesthood in the Christian Church, inquiring believers in it would be glad of some scriptural authority for one. In the New Testament, none is to be found for an element properly sacerdotal. From the Old, however, one of the sort required, applicable to a future dispensation, has been produced.² But it is a prophetic text, and may,

¹ *Formerly and in the primitive church, that name (of priest) was used for the bishop, as witness Cyprian, Augustine, &c. Du Cange, in v. Sacerdos.*

² *It is very well known that pastors, to whom the word and the sacraments are entrusted, are called priests by the Fathers, though no such use is made of the word in the New Testament; but it is not without the Divine Word's authority; for in Isaiah (lxvi. 21.) God foretelling the calling of the Gentiles by the Gospel, says, "And I will take of them for priests and for Levites, saith the Lord." Grotius, De Imp. Summ. Potest. circa Sacra, Opp. iv. 277.*

therefore, not have been meant for literal acceptation, which is Hooker's view of it.¹ Isaiah is predicting a religious ministry in the Messiah's church.² He could scarcely have described one without using terms known among his countrymen. Still there might be considerable differences between the two institutions. Their nearest approaches to identity may lie in this, that both are divine provisions for the religious wants of men. If it be so, the reason is obvious why adaptations from the temple system are left out of the New Testament. But whether we can account for this omission, or not, it is at least clear that any development in the Christian church of the sacerdotal element, comes from a germ which cannot be connected with apostles and evangelists. They are only known to have talked of our Lord's eternal priesthood, and of that priesthood, or power to offer their worship, their alms, and themselves, which is common to all faithful Christians. Upon any order, or succession, which can reconcile sinners to God by external means, without a real change in the parties themselves, they are absolutely silent. Their authority may be pleaded for a Christian ministry to be

¹ "The Holy Ghost, throughout the body of the New Testament, making so much mention of them" (presbyters) "doth not any where call them priests. The prophet Esay, I grant, doth, but in such sort as the ancient Fathers, by way of analogy." *Eccl. Pol. Works*, ii. 602.

² Some have understood him as predicting that spiritual priesthood which is common to all faithful Christians; but Vitringa observes, that if he had meant this he would have said, *I will take them*, and not *of* them. The text is, therefore, to be understood, Vitringa adds, as comparing the two institutions together in that which is common to both, namely, in the employment of each of them upon the business of religion. *In Jes. Leov.* 1724, ii. 951.

exercised by members of a liberal profession, but for no institution likely to be abused by human superstition or corruption.¹

For evidence that religious principles, developed in the church, but uncontained in Scripture, are really divine, the Fathers are brought forward. Obviously, however, these ancient writers in divinity may be unsafe authorities for extra-scriptural belief, unless they were inspired. Human ignorance, interests, and prejudices can seldom be kept from obscuring the

¹ *For it is to be kept in mind, although the Scripture of the New Testament gives various appellations to the ministry, still in no place of the New Testament are the ministers of the word and sacraments called priests. It is however perfectly true, that some things belong to the ministers of the church by reason of their ministry, which are not commanded to be done by the rest of the faithful. But the question is, what, and of what sort, these things are. Nor is it enough to say, in the Old Testament the act of sacrifice made the difference between priests and laymen, therefore the same ought also to be in the New Testament. For first the doctrine is notorious of the Old Testament's levitical priesthood's abrogation. Secondly, the appellation of priests in no place of the New Testament is given to the ministers of the word and sacraments. (Chemnitz, Exam. Conc. Trid. ii. 146.) It may be added, that objections made by Romanists to the invalidity of English orders, because no commission is expressly given in them for the offering of sacrifice, are of little or no weight, even upon Romish grounds. No such commission is found in the most ancient ordinals; and in a Pontifical, printed at Rome in 1497, f. 21., it stands thus, *Take power to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate masses as well for the living as for the dead.* Here *sacrifice* may be taken for oblations before communion time, (in the Mozarabic liturgy it stands for the offertory,) or taken in a spiritual sense; and the plural term *masses* has a wider acceptation than the singular *mass*, as used by modern Romanists. The mention of *living and dead* in this commission will give no certain help to those who would confirm by it the existing Romish missal doctrine. To deacons it is said at their ordination, *Take the power of reading the Gospel in the church of God, as well for the living as for the dead.* Thus the framer or framers of these forms evidently considered all the public offices of religion, whether eucharistic or not, beneficial both to living and dead. The first form is entitled the *ordination of a presbyter*, not of a priest; and the archdeacon's opening address to the bishop terms the order sought, *the burthen of the presbyterate* ("onus presbyterii").*

brightness even of very pure and intelligent natures. Our Lord's own disciples were constantly dreaming of temporal advantages from their adhesion to him. Nor did he speak of them as likely to become worthy of implicit attention, until they should be enlightened by the Holy Spirit. It was thus that they were to be "guided into all truth."¹ His own language they might partly forget, and partly misunderstand. Worldly considerations might steal into their minds, and give them a warp when they could scarcely suspect one. Nothing but heavenly light could give security to the doctrine even of apostles and evangelists. They were fit to guide other men, because they were themselves guided by the spirit of truth. No such claim to confidence is advanced for any one of the Fathers. Great as were the personal excellences of the authors thus designated, highly valuable as are their works, neither the writers nor the books bear the stamp of heavenly authority. Where any thing rather than misconception was intended, or even suspected, misconception may notwithstanding lurk. A wise and good man wrote, but infallibility did not guide his pen. This might be said of uninspired writers positively contemporary with the Apostles: of those who came after them, however shortly, it may be said with irresistible force. Doctrines might be afloat, generally traced up to an apostle, and thought worthy of one, yet neither ever taught by an apostle, nor worthy of one. If religious principles

¹ *St. John*, xvi. 13. "Cum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis docebit vos omnem veritatem." (*Fulg.*) The English version here is literal — ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς.

cannot be tested by Scripture, they obviously demand support from the propounder's inspiration. In the case of the Fathers, this demand is the more imperative from the late appearance of these authors. Those who build extra-scriptural articles of faith upon them will not be bound down to very early times. They tell us that religious records of the first three centuries are far too scanty for an accurate judgment of the belief entertained in those centuries. It was not until the appearance of Austin, Basil, Ambrose, and of the great theological luminaries who immediately succeeded, that patristic divinity became trustworthy and complete. Even this is not enough. For the time of the primitive church, the fourth and fifth centuries are expressly named.¹ Thus extra-scriptural belief, which purposes to be coeval with the first century, is not to be found on record before the fourth or fifth. It is to be sought in authors who were not only uninspired, and therefore could have no certain perception of the truth, but also who talked after parties that had been dead two or three hundred years, or more, before these talkers were born. It is quite obvious that any ex-

¹ "Et parce qu'il nous reste peu d'écrits des trois premiers siècles, à cause de la persécution qui a duré tout ce tems, et qui a empêché, comme dit S. Hiérome, que S. Cyprien, qui a été choisi de Dieu pour être le défenseur de la pénitence, ne nous a laissé plus d'écrits, Monsieur le Cardinal du Perron prend pour le tems de la primitive église, le quatrième et le cinquième siècle, qu'il appelle *le tems des quatre premiers conciles, depuis l'Empereur Constantin, jusqu'à l'Empereur Marcien*, parce que la plûpart des Pères ayant écrit en ce tems, nous pouvons voir dans leurs écrits, toutes les maximes de la foi, et toute la pureté de sa discipline. Ainsi l'église primitive n'est autre chose que l'église du tems de saint Basile, du tems de saint Ambroise, du tems de saint Augustin." Arnould, *De la fréquente Communion*, Pref. 88.

tra-scriptural principles to be found in such authors have no claim to any higher consideration than as doctrines current when they wrote, and which were approved by themselves. A learned cardinal may call their time that of the primitive church, if it suit him to do so; and others may adopt his phraseology for the same reason. But it involves a palpable abuse of language. People who talk in this way are to tell the ignorant that certain things can plead authority from the primitive church; and then, if they cannot help it, they are to say, that nothing more is meant by the primitive church than the church as it existed two or three hundred years, or more, after all the Apostles were dead.

It is, however, by no means clear, that the theological luminaries of the fourth and fifth centuries authorise any extra-scriptural doctrines. On the contrary, it has been confidently maintained by competent scholars, from the Reformation downwards, that patristic divinity cannot safely be pleaded for any article of faith uncontained in the Bible. So Bishop Jewel, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, passionately broke forth, "O Austin, O Jerome, O Cyprian, O Athanasius, O Irenæus, O Polycarp, O Peter, O Paul, O Christ, if we are deceived, it is you that have deceived us." Thus this learned prelate maintained a substantial identity between patristic and scriptural doctrine. The principle with which he sets out in his defence of this position is, that Romanists "are utterly void, not only of the Scriptures, but also of the old councils and ancient

fathers.”¹ This principle, since his time, has been warmly contested between the Romish and Protestant parties. The doctrine of development virtually concedes it. Papal advocates would not have taken refuge under that plea, had any prospect been discerned of defending their peculiar tenets by direct appeals to tradition. But it has been found, over and over again, that some testimony to favour the Latin system is no sooner drawn from patristic stores, than another passage to neutralise, or explain it away, is immediately produced from the very same author. Thus, at best, nothing certain can be deduced from him upon that particular question. Nay, more: the want of concurrent confirmations, and many known facts inconsistent with a Romish view of his words, always make him fitter for Protestant purposes than for Latin. Any one, therefore, willing to take the fourth and fifth centuries as the time of the primitive church, would only make a very strange concession to Romanism. He might, in spite of it, show the Latin system to be incapable of traditional proof. Hence Protestant scholars really cling to tradition with more steadiness than Romish. They wholly reject it as an authority for extra-scriptural belief, but they freely use it as a very valuable instrument in controversy, in hermeneutical divinity, and in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs.

But although Romanism cannot confidently appeal to the theological luminaries of the fourth and fifth centuries, these authors have, notwithstanding, rendered it considerable service. Many passages in its

¹ *Answere to M. Hardinge's Preface.*

favour have been extracted from their works. These quotations are seldom so full and clear as a Romish polemic would wish. But they reveal footsteps of various doctrines that now distinguish the Latin system. It is plain from them that many things, eventually expanded and established in the church of Rome, had a certain footing among Christians, in the time which is called primitive by some, and were more or less approved by the Fathers. To use language which has latterly come into fashion, a process of developing extra-scriptural doctrine was going on in the fourth and fifth centuries, and received some help from contemporary divines of eminence. Thus these great writers fail, as bulwarks of Romanism, upon the traditional principle, but answer upon the development principle. Still, to make their authority really trustworthy upon this latter principle, much must be taken for granted, which known facts will overthrow. If inspiration be dispensed with, which is not very reasonable where articles of faith are concerned, patristic divinity ought to come from men who were very much above the ordinary run of eminent authors in every thing but mere genius. Otherwise it must be estimated like matter in other books. Now the Fathers have no moral or intellectual advantage over the best part of the literary world generally. Among them may be found instances of great credulity, a fondness for superstitious trifles, and an eagerness to magnify ecclesiastical importance. Two of these defects were, undoubtedly, the faults of their age: the third might very excusably flow from the exigencies of their position. Men commonly require

alluring into religion, and are prone to act illiberally by its ministers. Still, all the three are defects, and nothing like them can be detected in the authors from whom we have such articles of faith as are contained in the New Testament. Romish belief, therefore, comes from two sources, which are not only different, but also dissimilar. From one flows nothing credulous, or superstitious, or sacerdotal: from the other have flowed a stream of needless and improbable portents, a crowd of toys that make religion into a sort of child's play, and a thaumaturgic priesthood. Could men have been contented with a Christian ministry and a liberal profession, they would have heard no bells to tell them that priestly power had brought down Christ sensibly for their worship, and no absolutions to make them think of getting to heaven by some *easier way* than through genuine contrition.¹

Anglo-Saxon divinity resembles that of the fathers, as an exemplification of the development system. It offers no firm traditional support to the Romanism of later times. On the contrary, it shows that religious belief in ante-Norman England had very much of a Protestant character about it. Englishmen; who cling to the Roman church on the ground of her adherence to those very doctrines that were formally established among all their Christian ancestry, undoubtedly labour under a mistake. For the sake of leading people generally to see this, Archbishop Parker published Elfric's famous paschal homily. He thus exhibited Anglo-Saxon views of the real

¹ *Catech. Rom. De Pœn. Sacr. c. 46.*

presence, as unfolded with help from Ratramn; the publication of whose tract so shocked and surprised Romanists as to make them think it a forgery by Ecolampadius. Of its genuineness, however, there is no longer any question; and Johnson very justly says, "I am fully persuaded that the homilies of Elfric are more positive against the doctrine of transubstantiation than the homilies of the Church of England, compiled in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth."¹ Archbishop Parker, therefore, by publishing Elfric's testimony against this capital doctrine, showed Anglo-Saxon divinity to differ widely from that which was eventually sanctioned by the Council of Trent. In the next age, Whelock made more extensive use of the Anglo-Saxon remains. From them he showed England's ancient church to agree with her daughter, as purified by the Reformation, in many more articles than in a disbelief of transubstantiation. He maintained, indeed, an identity of doctrine between the two, and treated all those traces of the modern Romish system which occur in Anglo-Saxon divines, as merely the *idle dreams* and *fancies* of individuals.² The same ground is taken by the very learned non-juror, Hickes, who asserted, "that the faith and the religion of the Church of England, now, is the same it was" to the end of the eighth century; and he adds to his correspondent, a Romish ecclesiastic, "I challenge you to show, that they" (the Anglo-Saxons) "professed

¹ *Collection of all the Eccl. LL. Pref. xx.*

² *Dedic. et Præf. in Bedam.*

yours, that is, the papal part of your religion, from which we have reformed.”¹ Mrs. Elstob also says: “This is some, no small, satisfaction that we reap from Saxon learning: that we see the agreement of the reformed, and the ancient Saxon church. That it is no new church, but the same it was before the Roman church was corrupted.”²

It must not, however, be forgotten, that Whelock admits the existence of *idle dreams* and *fancies*³ among extant Anglo-Saxon divines. Traces of such matter seldom occur in the oldest writers, and never prominently or decidedly in any. Hickes was, therefore, perfectly secure in challenging, as he did, his Romish correspondent. Existing monuments prove that papal peculiarities were not established in the Anglo-Saxon church. But it cannot be added, that ante-Norman times witnessed no approach to papal peculiarities. Even points that had been expressly rejected, were tacitly conceded before the conquest. In the eighth century Englishmen heard of image-worship with execration. They looked, probably, with no greater favour upon its kindred abuses,—the worship and invocation of saints. Of these devices for placing dead men upon ground which belongs to the living God, early Anglo-Saxon remains offer no examples. There is reason, indeed, for believing the Council of Frankfort to have provided against this very evil; and if so, the Church of England was unquestionably of the

¹ *Letters to a Popish Priest*, 68.

² *Pref. to the Homily*, xiv.

³ “*Secernenda tamen est fides Catholica a privatis paucorum ineptis somniis. — Missis privatorum hominum commentis.*”

same mind.¹ Her great luminary, Alcuin, was the religious adviser of Charlemain. Hence the emperor's opinions must also have been his, and his were those of his country. But it is undeniable, that invocation of dead persons, taken for saints, had crept into England before the conquest. Extant Anglo-Saxon litanies prove this. It is also plain, that Anglo-Saxon objections to the religious use of graven images had been pretty completely undermined long before Norman William came over. Otherwise, we should not have Alfred's fair fame blemished by a mutilated decalogue. Thus Anglo-Saxon times eventually afforded currency and approbation to the extra-scriptural, or, more properly, anti-scriptural prin-

¹ "The reading of the 42d canon of the Council of Francfurt, in the MS. of Claudius Puteanus's library, is not, as in Labbey and Cossartius's edition, *ut nulli novi sancti colantur aut invocentur*, &c., but, *ut nulli nobis sancti colantur aut invocentur*; after which it follows, *nec memoria eorum per vias erigantur. Sed hi soli sunt venerandi* (not *colendi* aut *invocandi*) *aut memoria eorum per vias erigendæ, qui electi sunt ex autoritate passionum et vitæ merito*. The canon thus read plainly distinguishes *veneratio* from *cultus* and *invocatio*, and, accordingly, the title of the canon, which is the 43d in the Putean MS., is *Quicumque sancti in ecclesia venerandi sunt*. For there is a veneration due to martyrs and pious confessors, which consists in commemorating their courage, constancy, and sufferings; in always speaking with respect and reverence of them; in declaring to the world their noble acts of patience, charity, and humility, and love and beneficence to their enemies, and in erecting public statues and monuments, as of other heroes, in remembrance of them. In this chaste sense you know, Sir, Cicero saith, *habet venerationem justam quicquid excellit*, and that it is a common Latin phrase *memoriam alicujus venerari*. This is all the veneration to this time, and some time longer, that our ancestors of the English church showed to saints, without any *cult*, or invocation, or adoration of their images. For in all the rude pictures we find in their MSS. that remain among us, there are none that I ever observed, made for adoration, except one of our Lord with St. Dunstan prostrate at his feet, which I have printed in my Saxon grammar, p. 145, and which the hand of the inscription proves to have been made about the time of the conquest." Hickes's *Letters to a Popish Priest*, 69.

ciples of calling upon the dead for their prayers, and paying religious honours to similitudes. Those times likewise gave countenance to the expectation of some posthumous purgation, penal in its nature, for human souls. This principle seems to have been entertained in the Anglo-Saxon church from the first. In fact, it could hardly have been otherwise; obscure speculations upon posthumous penal cleansings being found in the Fathers, whom the Anglo-Saxon divines followed, or rather copied. In this case, however, the copies are, like the originals, of a various and wavering kind. Hence a student is perfectly justified in representing that purgatory was not maintained by the Anglo-Saxon church, whatever countenance may be given to a belief of it in the *silly dreams* and *fancies* of individuals. There were even advances made in ante-Norman days towards a belief in transubstantiation. In spite of Elfric's desire to stop the progress of that doctrine, he could not so far rise above the superstitious habits of his day, as to reject some wonderful tales, then current, which gave an exaggerated importance to the eucharistic bread. Such tales naturally flowed from superstitions that prevailed at an early date, and received no discouragement from the Fathers. Faustus, the Manichee, writes to Austin, *our reverential behaviour towards the universe is just the same as yours towards the bread and cup*.¹ Thus it appears that some sort of outward reverence was paid in the fourth century, and with patristic allowance, if not approbation, to the sacramental ele-

¹ "Et nobis circa universa, et vobis similiter erga panem et calicem, par religio est." August. contra Faustum, lib. 20. *Opp.* viii. 334.

ments. Faustus declares that he and his Manicheean friends did no more by the sun and moon. They did not worship, strictly speaking, those luminaries, whatever their enemies might say. They only looked up to them with reverential awe, because it seemed their duty from those words of St. Paul to the Corinthians, which speak of Christ as *the power of God, and the wisdom of God*. His power, they believed, resided in the sun, his wisdom in the moon.¹ For the Holy Ghost they found an abode in that ethereal atmosphere which floats above our own, borders on the heavenly bodies, vivifies the earth.² Satisfactory proofs of such views being unattainable, the Manichees evidently did not wish to press them forward. Our knowledge of them comes from their adversaries, who, in this matter, are uncontradicted by themselves. Faustus, it may be observed, merely admits a worship of *universa*, without explaining what he means by that term, which certainly wants explanation, and without saying any thing of the nature and end of the worship itself.³ But he evidently knew himself to have Austin at an advantage, when he put Manicheean worship of the heavenly bodies and the atmosphere upon a level

¹ These are Faustus's own admissions. The text, which a perverse ingenuity alleged for these notions, is (1 Cor. i. 24.) "Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam." (*Vulg.*) The original has *δύναμιν* for the former quality.

² Mosheim *De Rebus Christianorum ante Const. M.* 786. The lower and thicker atmosphere which comes every where into actual contact with the earth was considered as the prison of the powers of darkness.

³ Mosheim takes *universa* to mean what may be called the celestial elements. The Manichees considered the sun as composed of good fire, the moon of good water; ether was the best kind of air. *Ibid.* 785.

with Christian worship of the sacramental elements. The Father, accordingly, is just as chary of explanation as the Manichee. He writes exactly like a man who felt himself to be helping to root a germ of doubtful quality. *Our bread and cup*, he says, *is not any sort of one, but, by a certain consecration, it is made mystical to us, which is not its natural state.*¹ Upon some kind of ceremony, for which could be found no better defence than this, rose eventually that adoration of the sacramental elements now established in the Roman church. What publicly transpired of eucharistic usages, in Austin's days, made Pagans charge the Christians with worshipping Ceres and Bacchus.² An ignorant and superstitious age would

¹ "Noster panis et calix non quilibet, sed certa consecratione fit mysticus nobis, non nascitur." This, Mosheim observes, amounts to nothing, for Faustus did not charge the Christians with paying religious honours to any bread and wine, but only to such as had been solemnly set apart for religious purposes. Austin accordingly goes on floundering, *Although it be bread and cup, it is an aliment of refectio, not a sacrament of religion, unless that we bless, and give thanks to the Lord in every gift of his, not only spiritual, but also corporal.* Had such a writer been capable of an explicit, solid answer, he would not have written in this way.

² Austin declares the folly of Faustus in placing Christian usage upon a level with Manicheean, to be worse than that of these people. "Pejus desipiens quam nonnulli, qui nos propter panem et calicem, Cererem et Bacchum colere existimant." Upon the sort of reverence which the early Christians gave to the sacramental elements, and which gained for them from their Pagan neighbours the charge of worshipping Ceres and Bacchus, arose, no doubt, eventually the adoration ceremonies of a modern Romish mass. These, however, proceed upon the principle that, after consecration, an incarnation of the Deity is actually present. It may be hastily supposed, that the usage which made the early Christians pass for worshippers of Ceres and Bacchus is an evidence that they admitted this principle of recognising an incarnate Deity in the Eucharist. But this by no means follows. To say nothing of direct evidence to the contrary, it continued to be the practice of the Greek church to venerate, or adore, (προσκυνεῖν) such portions of the oblations as were meant for consecration before they were actually con-

not hear such taunts or misrepresentations without endeavouring to silence them by tales like those that Elfric has used.¹

The whole case is an instructive comment upon recent theories. The early Christians very properly maintained that eucharistic use made certain ordi-

secrated, or, at all events, to act in such a manner as to give them the appearance of adoration. After preparations were made for celebrating, three acts of adoration were done before the *προθήσις*, or table of shew-bread, or credence-table, where the oblations lay ready for use. The rubric, in Chrysostom's mass, undoubtedly does not enjoin the adoration of the oblations, but only three acts of adoration before the credence-table. Such acts, however, would popularly pass for adoration of the gifts themselves, and Vasquez (*ap. Morton Of the Sacrament*, p. 85.) admits that the Greeks adore the unconsecrated sacramental elements. They were, in fact, called in that state *venerable gifts* (*τιμίμα δῶρα*), and Cabaſilas likens them to Christ before he was crucified. The Saviour, he says, was dedicated and offered to God from the beginning of his life, but was not sacrificed until the end of it. In this way men varnish over things, trifling in themselves, but calculated to mislead weak and ignorant minds. From Cabaſilas it also appears, that loaves were offered by individuals in the Greek church, or rather sent for offering, and that a portion was cut off from each for the actual offering. From Austin we neither learn what sort of reverence was paid to the sacramental elements in his day, nor at what part of the service. He seems merely to infer tacitly that substances which had been set apart from common uses for spiritual ones were fairly entitled to some sort of outward respect, which is true, if the respect be not such as is likely to mislead ordinary minds. If we may judge from the event in the Roman church, some of the Eucharistic ceremonies in Austin's time, scarcely bore that character. It should be added, that in the Greek service adoration, or worship, was paid not only to the unconsecrated sacramental elements, but also to the book of the Gospels. Austin's Pagan contemporaries might have known therefore, enough of Christian worship to make them think it connected with that of Ceres and Bacchus, without any actual approach in it to such views of the real presence as now prevail among Romanists. The Christians might only have gone so far as to indulge in some of those idle or superstitious formalities which men delight in, and which commonly pave the way for serious errors. Austin could neither see any harm in these things, nor tell how to make any explicit apology for them. *Bibl. PP.* ii. *Græc. Lat.* 61. 70. 205, 206.

¹ They may be seen in L'Isle's *Sermon of the Paschall Lambe*, p. 7. Thorpe's *Ælfric*, ii. 272, or in the author's *Bampton Lectures*, 439.

nary substances no longer common bread and wine. Unfortunately, they could not rest contented without showing their persuasion of this by some conspicuous, but unknown formalities. Of these, opponents immediately took advantage. Pagans treated Christianity as a perverse modification of their own system. Manichees deduced from Christian eucharistic usages a defence of the honours paid by themselves to the sun and moon. As Austin was evidently embarrassed by these things, his obvious course was to discountenance the ceremonies on which they rested. But he, and other leading ecclesiastics, thought it advisable to indulge the popular taste in various matters connected with religion. Hence he made a lame excuse for existing habits, and thus confirmed their hold upon the church. Yet so far is he from sanctioning transubstantiation, that Calvin, no mean judge, says, *without controversy he is wholly ours*.¹ From him, in fact, comes the very passage which Archbishop Parker put into the twenty-ninth Article, as evidence against Romish views of the real presence. The inconsistency of Austin, and others, in countenancing superstitious forms, while they taught sound doctrine, naturally brought about a state of things which tempted ignorant ages, first into exaggeration, after-

¹ "Nec ex Augustino quidem congeram quæcunque ad rem facerent : sed contentus ero paucis ostendere, sine controversia totum esse nostrum." (*Institut.* iv. xvii. 28. p. 499.) Yet Austin is quoted for transubstantiation by Romish writers, and so are other Fathers whom Protestants quote for the contrary. Hence the necessity of setting up the principle of development. But why should developments of patristic doctrine be restricted to such passages as favour, or seem to favour, modern Rome?

wards into fiction. When objectors persisted in confounding the sacramental elements with common bread and wine, and, consequently, in arguing against, if not ridiculing, the reverence which these elements received, they were to be silenced by rhetoric, or wonderful accounts. Upon such stories rose, when sacerdotal notions had gained full possession of society, that sort of belief in the real presence which is required by modern Romish missal purposes. A perverted ingenuity had only aimed originally to make an awful impression upon communicants, and never dreamt of any real presence, if these were not worthy. In time, people were led into thinking nothing about worthiness, or even about any communicants at all. Clerical acts were deemed a full discharge for every thing beyond attendance from the laity. The clergyman was just such a priest as had existed under the old law, and the Eucharist just such a sacrifice. As in Mosaic times too, so in Christian, to assist at a sacrifice passed for a release from substantial goodness. Thus a ceremony, unauthorised and undescribed, but considered, even by great men, harmless and becoming, gradually developed itself into a superstitious view of the mere eucharistic elements. This view led to the deification of these elements, and this to the superseding of communions by bewitching theories of propitiatory sacrifices for quick and dead. The whole process is extremely well fitted for taking with man, and is, therefore, very likely to be a development of something within himself. That any scriptural principle has found a development in it is quite incapable of proof; and when all the

circumstances are considered, seems very far from probable.

Of other extra-scriptural doctrines the same thing may be safely said. Positive proof of their connection with any inspired authority, of course, there is none. This connection is represented, however, as probable in the highest degree, because encouragement, more or less, is given to these doctrines by the Fathers. Hence it is thought by some, that various principles were gradually developed from apostolic preaching by the church, which the Apostles themselves forbore to place on record, either because no occasion arose to make them think of it, or because they had reasons for considering it unadvisable. Than such views nothing can be more unsatisfactory. The uncertainty of oral transmission, even from a few years backwards, is known to every body. But in this very vital case we are called upon to receive it with little or no hesitation, after it had filtered through two or three centuries. Enemies to an extra-scriptural faith turn triumphantly to the meagre records of the first three hundred years, and claim them as their own. That such a claim is not easily dealt with, is plain from those who plead for doctrines that cannot be substantiated from the Bible. They would have us receive them as remnants of apostolic teaching, if they can be found in authors of high character who wrote some few centuries after the sacred canon was closed. This of itself is a violent demand. But, at all events, the extra-scriptural doctrines ought to bear a strong impress of the minds to which we owe the written doctrines. Now here,

to use the mildest language, every thing is most uncertain. It is true that various texts, actually upon record, are pleaded as confirmations of the extra-scriptural creed. But these texts are obscure, quite capable of a different explanation, and actually explained in another way by very competent scholars. In fact, it seems likely that no one would view them as an extra-scriptural belief requires, unless a system of that kind had been established in him before he sat down to read. As for using the obscurer portions of Scripture to confirm a previous hypothesis, we have seen that Manicheism did so, and all shades of religious teaching, even the wildest not excluded, have done the same, from the apostolic age to our own. It is, therefore, plainly gratuitous to extort evidence from the obscurer portions of Scripture, that principles which want scriptural proof do, notwithstanding, bear the impress of those minds which supplied us with the Bible. In such a case there must be ample room for argument on the other side; and in one instance, undoubtedly, this line of argument cannot be shaken. The paying of religious honours to graven images and similitudes is positively adverse to the whole teaching of Scripture. Nor is the allowance of such worship found capable of defence, except by supposing that some peculiar circumstances exacted an absolute prohibition of it in ancient Israel. Now this prohibition is one of the ten prohibitions that seem to have been intended for the perpetual and universal regulation of mankind in religion and morals. Its nine fellows have always this character given to them, and friends of image-worship are evidently confounded by the sight of this

one prohibition among them.¹ Nor is there any thing, either in the Old Testament or the New, that would make one think image-worship to have been ever approved by the authors of those books, as an auxiliary to devotion. Hence this usage must be viewed as bearing no impress from any inspired writer's mind; but rather the reverse. If it be the poor man's book, it is one that no Bible author seems to have thought fit for him. In other cases, the want of a scriptural impress upon extra-scriptural articles of faith may be more obscure, but Protestants have produced evidence of this deficiency in every case. There is no good reason, therefore, for concluding that any extra-scriptural doctrine is a development of some principle that was taught by those to whom men are indebted for the Bible.

¹ Du Pin, in commenting upon the Council of Eliberis, or Elvira, would make the prohibition of images in religion to be not a matter of faith, but one of discipline. The council both forbade images and candles in the day time. Romish ingenuity has been very much taxed to find some way of backing out of this canon. Du Pin says, "To me it seems better to understand it in the plainest sense, and to confess that the Fathers did not approve the use of images, no more than that of wax-candles lighted in the full day-light. But these things are matters of discipline, which may be used or not, without doing any prejudice to the faith of the church." (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. 243.) This conclusion is true as for the wax-candle folly. Such a thing might be well enough when the great scarcity, or absolute want of glass, made men contented with a few very small slits in the walls of churches. For ages it has been a most senseless practice, and when the sun is bright nothing can look more ridiculous. It is, however, attended with no more popular harm than the temptation of superstitious people to waste their money in lighting up rows of candles, after the fashion of booths in a fair, before some image, generally a tinsel-crowned Virgin Mary. Image-worship itself is a graver question. It is forbidden by one of those ten commandments which were divinely promulged for teaching men the main essentials of faith and morality. As it is not a moral prohibition, it must be a religious one. It may be very convenient to represent it as a mere matter of discipline, by those who habitually shuffle it out of the Decalogue. But as it really stands there, it has a right to rank among articles of faith.

It may, then, be asked, whence came the extra-scriptural principles that Christians gradually developed among themselves? Traces of them are to be found in the Fathers. Where did those authors get them? A certain answer cannot be returned, but a probable one offers itself from the unquestionable entrance of heathen philosophy into the church in the second century, if not earlier. There is no disputing that some points in the extra-scriptural belief of Christians were taught by the Gentile philosophers as applicable to all mankind, while other points in it, as image-worship, were conceded by them as fitted for the vulgar. To escape the natural inference from these facts a call is made for evidence, that none of these principles existed in the church before Pagan philosophy entered it.¹ But it surely must be sufficient for assigning a Pagan origin to any religious principle, to show that it is not warranted by Scripture, while it is by Paganism. Every such tenet may be fairly classed among Pagan tenets, and its introduction among Christians, there being no earlier trace of it, may be fairly dated at the time when Pagan philosophers were hailed as members of the

¹ "What we have a right to demand is some antecedent probability or specimen of evidence, to show that any one doctrine, or principle, was in the Neo-platonic sect before it was in the Catholic church, and that it passed from the former into the latter." (Newman, *On Development*, Lond. 1845, p. 200.) The learned author is commenting upon Mosheim's essay, *De Turbata per Recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia*. It is this essay which derives various Romish peculiarities from Neo-platonic converts. Mr. Newman says afterwards of Mosheim, "He took for granted that the Catholic doctrines and usages were wrong; and in that case, since there is a resemblance between the philosophical and the Catholic, there is certainly a very strong presumption that the Catholic were actually derived from the philosophical." 202.

church. We have no means of connecting any such tenet with a higher date. Upon these grounds, the worship of images and relics, the invocation of saints, and purgatory, may be called Pagan developments. Their entrance into the church, and progress in it, confirm this designation. There is little or no trace of them among Christians before the patristic age, which did not fairly set in until the fourth century, when Pagans joined the church in crowds. Then the Fathers, undoubtedly, gave countenance to various principles common to Romanism and Paganism, but so dubiously and inconsistently, that one party represents those writers as favourable to the Pagano-Romish tenets, the other as against them. The Fathers, it is plain, found certain popular principles afloat in the religious world, and could see no harm in giving them a little encouragement, but gave it with all that uncertainty which shows men to be not more than half persuaded. Certain formalities in the Latin system require nothing more than a passing notice. They are confessedly of Pagan origin, and probably their admission was a help to the progress of Gentile doctrine. But as expediency was alleged for their introduction, so the same thing may successfully counsel their expulsion. The doctrines, however, which came among Christians in their train, might still be maintained.

Besides the principles, indelibly marked by a strong Pagan impress, which the Fathers aided in developing or rooting among Christians, they did the same by another class of principles, in which the Pagan lineaments are less distinctly traceable. These are sacer-

dotal principles. There can be no doubt that formal acts of worship were considered by Pagans as a release from arduous and painful struggles with selfishness and immorality. This, in fact, where trust in predestination, or internal illumination, does not prevail, is the gist of human divinity. But Christians had no occasion to borrow this reliance upon externals from their Gentile neighbours. Their sacerdotal notions might be developed, and probably were, from those of the Jews. Christian sacerdotalism may, therefore, pass for a Judaistic, rather than a Pagan development. It is confessed, on all hands, that sacerdotal principles are not to be found in the New Testament. As usual, when something that man delights in wants authority, the sacerdotal party turns eagerly to the Fathers. These ancient writers will make some answer to the call, though in this case, as in others like it, their authority is none of the earliest.¹ But in the second century sacerdotal phraseology, as well as Pagan philosophy, found an entrance into the church. When the patristic age fairly set in, priests, altars; and sacrifices became words of course among Christian writers. If the Fathers had been duly warned by Scripture, they would have been unwilling to adopt language of this kind. The want of all countenance for it in the New Testament, and the abuses which the Old shows to have been engrafted upon the Mosaic system, might have put serious men very much upon their guard

¹ "The genuine epistles of St. Ignatius contain none of those ecclesiastical terms, such as *priest* or *see*, which are so frequent afterwards." Newman, *ut supra*, 144.

against any approaches towards sacerdotal notions among Christians. It is evident from the prophets, but especially from Isaiah, that ancient Israel had extensively confided in the temple-worship, as very efficacious for lowering the amount of moral obligation. Any thing like such a system could scarcely be set up again without leading human nature to the same result. But the Fathers, by letting in the philosophic leaven, had lost that implicit degree of dependence upon Scripture which enabled them to see this danger. Both Jewish and Pagan opponents taunted Christians with wanting all the essentials of a public religious profession, because they wanted priests, altars, and sacrifices. The Fathers could see no harm in meeting these foolish objections, by calling the Christian ministry a priesthood, the communion-table an altar, and the Eucharist a sacrifice. In their time, probably, no harm ever actually came from this language. It planted, however, or some would say developed, a germ in the Christian church, which gradually expanded itself into a mighty upas tree. Now, as no one says that in talking so as to aid in this important process, the Fathers spoke the language of the New Testament,—did they help to develop a germ which, notwithstanding, had been planted by the authors of that holy book? To this question no certain answer can be given. But, undoubtedly, the language used was that of the Old Testament, and the Apostles might have left instructions for the use of such terms among Christians, in due time. But its use had been very fruitful in religious evil, under the old dispensation. It is, there-

fore, far from unlikely that such phraseology was kept out of the New Testament from a foresight of its tendency to produce religious evil again. If it be so, the Fathers used language that aided in developing not an apostolic principle, but one that Judaising Christians introduced from abused Mosaic doctrine.

The church of Jerusalem had stood, from apostolic times, upon a footing very favourable for spreading doctrine of this kind among Christians generally. Her bishops were circumcised persons, who acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah. There were fifteen of such prelates. The first uncircumcised bishop of Jerusalem, was the Gentile, Mark, who lived in the reign of Adrian.¹ Hitherto it is plain, the Jerusalem Christians had been a sort of semi-Jewish sect, which grafted a belief in Jesus upon the temple service. Hence the Jews and Christians were considered, by ordinary observers, as really one body, professing a religion which would be incomplete without the temple. Sulpicius Severus thinks, that a wish to destroy this body entirely made Adrian studiously desecrate, by idolatrous worship, the spot where Christ had suffered, and that on which the temple had stood. He placed also guards to keep any Jew from entering Jerusalem.² If his policy were meant to

¹ "In Jerusalem, the first Christian bishop not circumcised was Mark; and he not bishop till the days of Adrian, the emperor, after the overthrow of Jerusalem; there having been fifteen bishops before him which were all of the circumcision." (Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* i. 576.) Eusebius (*Hist.* iv. 6.) assigns as a reason for the choice of the Gentile Mark, as bishop of Jerusalem, that the church there was henceforward made up of gentiles.

² "Qua tempestate Adrianus, existimans se Christianam fidem loci injuria perempturum, et in templo ac loco Dominicæ passionis, dæmonum simulacra constituit. Et in quia Christiani ex Judæis potissimum

injure the Christian church, it certainly had a contrary effect. It broke up that party which was not more than half either Jewish or Christian, and impeded the progress of evangelical truth, by clinging to some of the onerous and peculiar observances of the Mosaic ritual. Any lingering regrets that might arise from thinking of the old system were assuaged, allowably, as it seemed, by adopting its phraseology. A temple, a priest, and a sacrifice, were treated as adequately represented, wherever a Christian congregation worshipped. As this figurative language not only allayed natural regrets, but also found an answer to some popular objections, there is no wonder that it was adopted by the Fathers.¹ Nor, probably, would any harm have been thereby done, had not knowledge and civilisation gradually and, in time, enormously retrograded after the patristic age began. Under

putabantur, namque tum Hierosolymæ non nisi ex circumcissione habebat ecclesia sacerdotem, militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit, quæ Judæos omnes Hierosolymæ aditu aceret." (*Sacra Historia*, ii. 45. Amst. 1665, p. 364.) The annotator maintains that Salpicius Severus is mistaken in making Adrian to have done these things for the sake of destroying Christianity. That emperor, he says, favoured Christianity, but secretly.

¹ Cartwright had said, "Seeing that the office and function of priests was, after our Saviour Christ's ascension, naught and ungodly, the name whereby they were called, which did exercise that ungodly function, cannot be otherwise taken than in the evil part." Hooker answers, "For though God do now hate sacrifice, whether it be heathenish or Jewish, so that we cannot have the same things which they had but with impiety, yet unless there be some greater let than the only evacuation of the law of Moses, the names themselves may, I hope, be retained without sin, in respect of that proportion which things established by our Saviour have unto them which by him are abrogated. And so throughout all the writings of the ancient Fathers we see that the words which were do continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literal, now they have a metaphorical use, and are as so many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did signify in the letter is accomplished in the truth." *Eccl. Pol.* i. 583.

cover of this declension, way was made for turning figures into realities, and such realities as required benighted barbarism to make them seem endurable. The Christian presbyterate was gradually tempted into the claim, not of a metaphorical, but of a proper, that is, a sacrificing priesthood, and one endued with privileges which soared immeasurably above those of the old Aaronic family. That ancient race of priests merely sacrificed types of the real offering for sin, which was in time to be revealed. Many of its members might be willing, and seemingly were, to gain importance by encouraging some who passed for prophets, to treat sacrifices as a release from substantial goodness in the offerers.¹ But such agreeable doctrine was kept in check by a series of prophets, really inspired, who warned men against it. No teachers thus illumed from on high came in the rear of the Fathers, and, consequently, any mischief that might unintentionally have been done by the metaphorical language and professional spirit of those ancient writers, had free license to take full advantage of the intellectual darkness that succeeded patristic times. By this, their sacerdotal phraseology profited immensely. The alleged successors to Israel's hereditary priests professed, in time, to sacrifice, not types of the

¹ *Jerem. v. 31.* "Prophetæ prophetabant mendacium, et sacerdotes applaudebant manibus suis, et populus meus dilexit talia." (*Vulg.*) This is literally translated from the Septuagint. But instead of *applaudabant manibus suis*, the authorised English version has *bear rule by their means*. Grotius, upon the passage, says, that this is better. "*Melius, Sacerdotes dominabantur, in populum, scilicet, per illos, scilicet, falsos prophetas, quorum opera utebantur.*" Both versions come to much the same thing. The priests would scarcely have *applauded* a false tone of divinity, unless their affections had received a warp that way, by finding the popularity of such opinions conducive to their own influence.

Messiah, but that holy personage himself, under visible signs.¹ For this full development of the sacerdotal germ western Europe waited until the Council of Trent sat; but every thing material for the purpose was accomplished in the thirteenth century. During the first sixteen years of this age Innocent III. filled the see of Rome. It never had an occupant more able and willing to make the best of every circumstance favourable to himself, the papacy, or the clergy generally. Undoubtedly, he did not give universal satisfaction among his clerical contemporaries. He was, probably, too domineering and grasping for individual men, however calculated his measures might be for the exaltation of their order. Accordingly, Matthew Paris describes him as, *above all mortals, ambitious and proud, with an insatiable thirst for money, and quite ready for all kinds of iniquity that people would either give or promise payment for.*² Such is the Roman bishop, as painted by a monk of his own day, with very good opportunities of information, that established a belief in transubstantiation. He made it one among the articles of the Christian faith, by inserting it in a creed, at the fourth Lateran Council, in 1215.³ The

¹ In the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent it was agreed, *The old passover having been celebrated, which the multitude of the children of Israel immolated in memory of the going out from Egypt, he (Christ) instituted a new passover himself, to be immolated by the church through priests, under visible signs, in memory of his own passage out of this world to the Father.* Labb. et Coss. xiv. 853.

² "Papa super omnes mortales ambitiosus erat et superbus, pecuniæque sitiitor insatiabilis, et ad omnia scelera pro præmiis datis, vel promissis, cereum et proclivum." Ed. Watts, 245.

³ The term *transubstantiation* was in use before Innocent's time. But he ratified its use, as well as the doctrine itself, by introducing the following clause in his creed, *Whose body and blood (Christ's) in the sacrament of the altar, under the species of bread and wine, are truly con-*

clergy of such an age as that were naturally very willing to think him right. He insisted upon their power to bring down from heaven an incarnate Deity for them to sacrifice, and the congregation to adore. The laity were just as well pleased. Ignorant times are always eager for thaumaturgic priests. The wonder here too took away all occasion to prepare for the Communion more than once a year or so, without lessening the immemorial frequency of the sacrament itself. Communions for a congregation were superseded by sacrifices, and although a man might have some doubts about his fitness to receive, he could have none as to the safety of greeting on his knees the incarnate Saviour. Any body might attend weekly, or even daily, such a communion as this, without any preparation at all, because there was no receiving at all, except by the officiating minister. An immense advantage was given to Innocent's doctrine soon after its promulgation by Aquinas, the greatest and most useful of the schoolmen. *The perfection of this sacrament*, he says, that is, of the Eucharist, *is not in the use of the faithful, but in the consecration of the material.*¹ This is a most striking

tained, they being transubstantiated, the bread into the body, and the wine into the blood, by the divine power. Labb. et Coss. xi. 143.

¹ "Perfectio hujus sacramenti non est in usu fidelium, sed in consecratione materia." (*Tertia Pars. S. Thomæ. Quest. 80. Art. xii. p. 185. Ranke's Hist. of the Ref. i. 256.*) This opinion is extracted from Aquinas in discussing the practice of receiving the bread without the cup. He determines that such a mode of receiving is by no means allowable in the officiator, but may prudently be practised by others for fear of irreverence. In a multitude of old and young, with even children among them, he thinks the cup liable to be so taken as to endanger the spilling of some of its contents. But he speaks of the withholding of it as not universal. *Therefore providently in some churches it is ob-*

development of some sacerdotal germ, but of one which can be traced neither to Scripture nor the Fathers. Aquinas affords another such development, by treating the Eucharist both as a sacrament and a sacrifice. In the former sense, he says, *it profits receivers*, in the latter, *those who do not receive, it profits by way of a sacrifice, inasmuch as it is offered for their salvation*.¹ Thus the thirteenth century saw eucharistic worship transferred almost wholly to the clergy. Primitive times impressed an awful sense of it upon the laity, and would suffer none but communicants at its celebration. When the sacerdotal element was pretty thoroughly developed every body was to attend eucharistic rites, and might reckon upon great advantage from them, however ill prepared for spiritual advantages of any kind. This is exactly the doctrine for human nature; that is, to please it: the fitness of such doctrine for improving man is a very different question.

The very times which saw popes and schoolmen bent upon rooting this popular mode of dealing with eucharistic principles also first witnessed what only would now be considered absolutions. Before the thirteenth century people were not absolved in terms likely to be misunderstood. A new system then sprang up, which may fairly thank Innocent III. as

served, that the blood is not given to be taken by the people, but is only taken by the priests.

¹ "Sed aliis, qui non sumunt, prodest per modum sacrificii, in quantum pro salute eorum offertur." (*Tertia Pars. S. Thomæ. Quæst. 79. Art. vii. p. 179.*) Aquinas determines that the oblation belongs to the sacrificial part of the Eucharist, the receiving to the sacramental part. Suppose him right; where did he find in Scripture, or antiquity, any ground for separating the two things in practice?

its nursing-father. The twenty-first canon of that famous pope's fourth Lateran Council enjoins *every one of the faithful, of either sex, who shall have come to years of discretion, to confess faithfully by himself, at least once a year, all his sins to his own priest.*¹ People who should not obey *this salutary statute*, as it is called, were to be kept out of the church, when living, and denied Christian burial, when dead. All this was to be frequently published in churches; but, notwithstanding, men were unlikely to continue permanently under a bondage so humiliating, unless the yoke had been kept upon them by some strong inducement. One was found in the indicative absolutions, which lulled human consciences after the year 1200. In earlier times, penitents had been released from disqualification for the sacrament after penance had been duly performed, and the clergyman, in releasing them, had prayed that God would also release them from their sins. But many of Innocent's contemporaries thought it better to absolve men authoritatively. This new fashion had such elements of popularity as gradually, though slowly, drove out the modest old one.² Clergymen were fortified in the use of it by a new clause in the ordination service.³

¹ "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata, confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti." Labb. et Coss. xi. 173.

² Morin says, that *deprecatory forms were continued in many celebrated churches long beyond the thirteen-hundredth year.* De Pœn. p. 546.

³ Namely, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remisieris peccata, remittuntur eis: et quorum retinueris, retenta erunt.* Mr. Maskell observes on this; "This very important part of the ordination of priests is, comparatively, of late introduction. I doubt whether any example

Laymen were glad enough to be so positively assured of spiritual safety. The former could again find countenance in Aquinas, who thinks the power of consecrating the Eucharist and that of binding and loosing to be essentially the same.¹ This is, undoubtedly, not

of it is to be discovered earlier than the twelfth century ; and although it had been adopted into the use of the church of Bangor, before the end of the next century, we have no trace of it in the Winchester pontifical. All the great ritualists have failed, and acknowledge it, in their search after earlier authority." (*Monumenta Ritualia Eccl. Angl.* iii. 220.) Mr. Maskell considers it "very wise in the revisers of our ordinal not to omit this lately added clause." They, probably, thought themselves with very little discretion in the case. People had been used to indicative absolutions for three hundred years, or thereabouts, and might have considered the reformed clergy greatly inferior in authority to their predecessors if they had laid claim to any lower powers. Hence, at ordination, the form sanctioned by the use of three centuries was to continue, and in the Visitation of the Sick, the indicative absolution, which is of the same age, and obviously connected with it, might be used. The use of this, however, is strictly guarded. The sick person's conscience must be troubled with some weighty matter, and he must humbly and heartily desire the absolution. The first condition is not very common, nor in a community long Protestant are the two others.

¹ *Because all grace and remission in the mystical body comes forth from its own head ; therefore the power by which the priest can consecrate ("conficere" i. e. the Lord's body), and that by which he can loose and bind, if jurisdiction be added, seems to be essentially ("per essentialiam") the same. (Suppl. 3 P. Quæst. 17. Art. ii. p. 23.)* By jurisdiction, Aquinas afterwards tells us, he means a body of people put under some individual's ministrations. Ranke has extracted a clause lower down in which Aquinas positively says, *therefore the character and power of making up ("conficiendi"), and the power of the keys is essentially one and the same. (Hist. Ref. i. 256.)* This was probably the great schoolman's opinion ; but from the extract given before in this note, it is plain that he did not feel quite sure of it, hence the qualifying *videtur*. In fact, if he, and others of his class, had been as decided upon the effect of clerical absolutions as they were upon eucharistic consecrations, there would have been no room for those doubts upon the efficacy of attrition, which the Council of Trent, three centuries afterwards, would not venture to face. That body would have rested upon the universal consent of the schoolmen, and not left that to be done by a half-authenticated catechetical committee, which the Romish world delights in, and which ought to have been done, if it were to be done at all, by the council itself.

the positive sort of language that he uses as to the Eucharist, but still its tendency is to spread an opinion that ordination conferred some supernatural power, both over the sacramental elements, and over human liabilities. This view, accordingly, became general. Men's contrition might be doubtful, but of their attrition, or willingness to go through certain formalities, under fear of eternal torments, there could seldom be any doubt. As popular expectation of getting to heaven by this *easier way* received encouragement from very high authorities, confessionals had no difficulty in standing their ground. By degrees they offered another attraction. Absolutions were given at once, not, as anciently, after penance was performed. It was merely enjoined, and performance might stand by, till the party felt inclined, or till he got into purgatory. The precise time taken for developing this bewitching system is obscure. It is only known that none but precatory absolutions are to be found before the thirteenth century, and

To show more fully the uncertainty which anciently prevailed as the exact meaning of that figurative scriptural language, upon which Romanists now depend as outworks for their cherished absolutions, it may be added, that Le Fevre of Etaples, or *Faber Stapulensis*, as he was more generally called, interprets the binding and loosing, in *Matt. xvi. 19*, by the Christian knowledge which St. Peter and his brother Apostles were to dispense. Faith was the key to open, the want of it, to close heaven. He adds, *There are, however, those who understand the keys as the pontifical power of binding and loosing; but Christ speaks here of the faith, that he himself was the Son of the living God, which is one of the keys of heavenly doctrine.* This view of the keys he confirms by *Luke, xi. 52*, where Christ upbraids the lawyers with taking away the key of knowledge. This means, he says, that they had buried the true knowledge of the law under a load of unauthorised traditions. There is no wonder that a writer, early in the sixteenth century, who took such views of Scripture, should have made way for the Reformation, and when it actually took place, have been considered more than half an adherent to it.

that it was a moot question among schoolmen, whether sacerdotal intervention would give sufficient efficacy to mere attrition. Under this vacillation of the authorities, the Council of Trent did not venture to face Protestant exposure by any manly declaration on the sacerdotal side. This great sacerdotal development was reserved for its catechetical committee, which did not sanction expectations of Romish help to reach heaven by an *easier way* than any revealed in the New Testament, until the council itself had separated. Thus the sacerdotal germ took fifteen hundred years for its full development, and had done no more than gain half its ends, and secure a vigorous hold for the other half, at the end of twelve hundred. If it had been of apostolic planting it could scarcely have had so long a struggle to undergo. But if its origin be some morbid or parasytic influence fastened upon human nature, it would be very likely to find an obstinate resistance from the vigour left by apostolic teaching.

If, therefore, the development system be adopted in accounting for the extra-scriptural belief of Christians, it may seem allowable to talk of the development of Pagan and sacerdotal doctrine within the Christian Church, instead of the development of Christian doctrine. The latter language is evidently of a disputable nature, there being no means of proving the Christian origin of any religious principle that is neither to be found in Scripture nor capable of proof by it. But whatever name may be thought best fitted for that branch of Romish belief which labours under one or both of these disadvantages, undeniably

the whole mass so works as to match and master the Bible. Its advocates, in fact, call it the unwritten Word of God;¹ and, obviously, there is no reason why an unrecorded revelation from heaven, if it only be sufficiently authenticated, should receive less attention than one that has been placed on record. As the Council of Trent, accordingly, assumes the divine origin of Rome's extra-scriptural doctrine, it very consistently places it upon a perfect equality with the scriptural. It was when the Council sate considered not a body of developments, but one of traditions. This is, however, immaterial for the present purpose. Whatever the extra-scriptural belief may be called, it professes to match the Bible. It must also master that holy book; because there are some extra-scriptural doctrines, which are thought by those who have no bias in their favour, to be positively at variance with Scripture. For others of them confirmations are found by their friends in various texts, which other very good judges consider quite incapable of any Romish sense, or, at best, violently wrested to give one some sort of scriptural colour. Thus the extra-scriptural creed is not only set up avowedly as a

¹ Bellarmine's treatise upon extra-scriptural articles of belief is entitled *De Verbo Dei non scripto*. He treats these articles as a mass of traditions, and if society had continued as it was in his days, a mass of traditions, they probably would have been still represented. Readers were not very numerous, and, most of them, at all learned, read chiefly Latin. Hence the great bulk of men could have no very accurate acquaintance with questions out of the common way. It would have been easy to keep the great majority of such a society under an impression that good patristic authority was to be found for such doctrines as cannot be substantiated from Scripture. This notion being now exploded, Rome leads up her forlorn hope under the banner of development.

match for the Bible, but also it acts habitually as its master. The traditional, or development party is very eager for scriptural subservience, but will not hear of scriptural independence, much less of any paramount authority in Scripture.¹

Upon resistance to this principle of enslaving the Bible, Protestantism, or scriptural Christianity, rose. Public opinion, therefore, in Protestant communities is not formed upon the same standard of wisdom and goodness that it is in Romish. In the former, it springs from a source entirely and unquestionably divine. In the latter, the divine source is enlarged and controuled by streams which can be traced with no certainty to any other than Pagan and corrupt Mosaic sources. There is no wonder that communities, morally and intellectually constituted upon such very different principles, should exhibit some very striking distinctions. The social results are, how-

¹ "According to the principles which the church of Rome maintains, the authority of tradition is so far from wanting any aid from Scripture, that the contrary is supposed to be the truth. For that church represents the written word, not merely as requiring explanation, which in many cases it certainly does, but as being so ambiguous and so perplexed that in itself it is often unintelligible. On the other hand, it considers the unwritten word as containing fully and clearly what the written word contains imperfectly and obscurely. To remedy, therefore, the supposed deficiencies of the written word, it applies the aid of the unwritten word. In this manner is tradition made a rule for the interpretation of Scripture; and the imputed ambiguity of the text gives ample scope for the operation of the comment. Thus is Scripture brought under the tutelage of tradition; and this tutelage is soon converted into a state of vassalage. For since the comment claims the same divine origin as the text itself, that comment, if supposed to be full and clear, in proportion as the text is supposed imperfect and obscure, has, in fact an authority superior to that of the text. Hence tradition, which in theory is made a rule of faith only equal to Scripture, becomes in practice a rule of faith paramount to Scripture." Bp. Marsh, *Comp. View of the Churches of England and Rome*, 15.

ever, entirely on the side of those whose moral and intellectual training all flows from the unenslaved Bible. Protestant Great Britain is the most moral, intellectual, religious, and prosperous district in Europe. In Ireland, order and prosperity are chiefly to be found in Ulster, which contains a large proportion of Protestants. Munster and Connaught, which Romanism overspreads, are conspicuous for turbulence, and social misery of every kind. A similar contrast, but happily marked much less painfully, may be seen in Switzerland, where the Protestant cantons are in advance of the Romish. Among continental states, which are entirely Romish,—Spain, the most Romish of them all, lags quite behind her neighbours. Thus, where a papal cast of thought prevails the most completely, social improvement finds the greatest hindrance. Romanism, however, seems little, or no bar to the progress of art, learning, elegant literature, or refined indulgence. Hence the gratifications of a wealthy or a highly-educated few are quite consistent with its diffusion over a country. But experience is against a belief in its power to operate favourably upon the intelligence and civilisation of middle and inferior life. The public mind in Romish countries has, undoubtedly, a lower tone than it has in Protestant.

The real authority which keeps communities down to this level is the papacy. Tradition has been deposed from the sovereignty that long was claimed for it. Development may only have matured germs that no divine or apostolic hand ever planted, or could have planted. Nothing, then, remains to prop up the

peculiarities of Romish belief, but papal sanction. This, too, stand upon grounds widely different from those which it occupied in early times. The Roman see then was the exponent of general consent. Civilisation was concentrated in a single empire, of which the bishop of the capital was the chief ecclesiastic. But after a Frankish empire arose in the West, means for collecting the sense of united Christendom were no longer in existence. The attempt was no sooner made than it proved a total failure. The eastern empire gave conciliar authority to the religious use of images; the western, which then existed, in fact, although it did not in name until a few years later, gave a conciliar repudiation to that use. Thus the the Roman see, which took the eastern side, was no longer the exponent of the general consent of Christendom, nor has it ever been since. It has taken up, in fact, a line in theology which is essentially sectarian. Vainly do friends call Romish peculiarities Catholic. They never had, nor could have any title to that appellation. They form an aggregate of doctrine which, it is now found, can only be treated as a succession of developments. It is impossible that all of them, as they gradually unfolded themselves, should have met with acceptance from the whole Christian world. History shows, accordingly, that many of them encountered a very strong resistance. In combating this, the Roman Church has used repeatedly the most objectionable means. Hence the papacy has often been painted in the blackest colours. As an excuse for its conduct, it has been urged by writers, who were no Romanists, that extra-scriptural

doctrines do not seem to have originated with popes. Those prelates did no more than patronise them, we are told, after they had acquired an overwhelming popularity.¹ This is, however, the position that Je-

¹ "We sometimes hear this papal empire spoken of as though it had been the direct, the originating cause of all those strange corruptions of doctrine and practice which during any portion of the middle ages arose to acceptance in the church. But a very brief inquiry will suffice to convince us of the fallacy of this view of things, or to prove to us that those corruptions derived, for the most part, their origin from other sources. Image-worship, for instance, the most extraordinary, perhaps, of all the errors into which the church has at any time been permitted to fall, was, as we have seen, a product of the warm and excitable imagination of the East. Purgatory was first treated of, in a tangible way, by the great Augustine, bishop of the African city of Hippo. And transubstantiation, first set forth in form in the writings of a monk of Corbie, near Amiens, was, as the reader will learn during the course of this narrative, only definitively adopted by the papal see when it had been forced on a reluctant pontiff by the clamour of a council, which appeared to embody the popular feeling of the West. And though, as in the instance already cited of image-worship, the popes often took a prominent part in the defence of these errors, when they had once arisen and diffused themselves, yet it was as the representative of public feeling, as the supporters of notions which had been general, that they did so. It was in allying themselves, as their new position often forced them to do, with the popular party, that they allied themselves with the popular corruptions. And, however, therefore, we may censure them for having thus suffered themselves to be guided by the dictates of low secular policy, rather than of strict uncompromising principle, it would be unreasonable, on this account, to condemn either them or their authority, for the actual origination of the corruptions thus laid to their charge." (Bowden, *Life of Gregory VII.* Lond. 1840, i. 69.) Grotius, in his *Appendix ad Comment. de Antichristo*, also pleads the papal cause in many particulars. The pope, he says, forces nobody to use the term *transubstantiation*. There is no harm in asking God to hear the prayers of martyrs for the church. Images came from the East, and no papal authority compels the setting of them up: with more of the same kind. (*Opp. Theol.* iv. 485. 502.) These things, however, are evidently unsatisfactory. The papal authority may not prescribe the use of a particular term; but it certainly assigns a divine character to the eucharistic elements, apart from the receiving of them. To ask God to hear the prayers of dead men, and to ask dead men for their prayers, are very different things. The former may be an improper thing, not only upon other accounts, but also because it obviously leads to the latter, which may be both improper and foolish. The origin of image-worship in the Christian Church is obscure, but there is no reason to

remiah condemns the priesthood of ancient Israel for occupying.¹ The popular doctrine in his days could be traced only to some sort of prophets; the priests merely applauded it, and let it answer their ends. If this be the condition of the papal see, it is any thing rather than a recommendation to it. Rome is thus merely exhibited as a refuge and fortress for error. Although her bishops, too, may have been the tools of other men, they have never been so, unless in cases which made for their own importance, and for impressing a character of thaumaturgic sacerdotalism on the clerical body. They have even set an example in their own dominions of trying profitable speculations upon popular credulity as to various matters which neither can plead any solemn authority, nor be reconciled with common sense and honesty. This example has naturally spread corruption over the whole Romish clergy. Those who think of the relics, and other such traps for weakness and ignorance, which disgrace all the papal reign, will see this

suppose it less ancient at Rome, than it was at Constantinople. It appears to have arisen from an injudicious haste in dealing with Paganism, and difficulties in conciliating the holders of that creed must have been felt keenly at Rome. There were many Pagans there, and even of superior condition, in the reign of Honorius, and later still. It is, therefore, very doubtful whether the Roman see is entitled, on the image question, to the sort of acquittal that is claimed for it. But suppose the matter otherwise; a great religious authority sadly betrays its trust, if it require nothing more for the patronage of error, than it originate in some other quarter, and conduce to its own interest.

¹ Jerem. v. 30. "Stupor et mirabilia facta sunt in terra." (*Vulg.*) For *mirabilia* the authorised English version has *horrible thing*, and the Septuagint has *φρικτὰ*. Grotius gives the words *stupenda et horrenda*. There can be no doubt that the voice of inspiration here is against excuses offered for ecclesiastical authorities, in adopting popular, but erroneous doctrine, on the ground that it was no invention of their own.

language, though severe, to be no more than just. Whatever exaggeration, therefore, may have been used by some opponents of the papacy, that power is, at least, convicted of sanctioning such abuses as place it in a very bad position for claiming the confidence of mankind.

Nor is this position improved by its conduct under circumstances which invited reconsideration. As the early Roman bishops were thwarted at every step by a government, an aristocracy, a learned philosophic body, and a populace, all bigotedly Pagan, they may fairly claim excuse for putting something of a Pagan face upon Christianity. They might have been warned against any such compromise by a careful consideration of Scripture and of human nature, but it offered such obvious facilities for lessening their difficulties that few men so circumstanced would have cast it aside. Their fault lay in abiding by the compromise, after the difficulties that occasioned it had very much disappeared, and evils had flowed from it which no sensible man could overlook. The weak and vulgar took Pagan views of religion; while not only Jews, but also the new sect of Mahometans, derided Christians, as really heathens and apostates even from their own faith. It would have been creditable to an important see, like that of Rome, if it had spontaneously come forward and, by a manly reformation, wiped away from the church these intolerable stains. Instead of this, however, the Roman bishops obstinately clung to old abuses, even after the civil power had wisely determined upon getting rid of them. Nor subsequently, when

the Frankish empire persisted in rejecting images, would Rome give them up. In after ages, when these and other unscriptural grafts upon Christianity had raised a violent storm of opposition in certain quarters, the papal see never thought of reconsideration. The Albigenes, or any other opponents, were to be trampled down by sanguinary crusades and exterminating penalties: whether there was any weight in their objections, the ruling ecclesiastics could not stoop to inquire. Under this blind adherence to inveterate usage, the Roman see was overtaken by the Reformation. Reviving literature had made it generally known, some time before, that much of the received belief rested upon very insufficient proofs. Luther stirred up impatience of such doctrine in every quarter. Rome was thus called upon to reconsider it, and she might have shaken it completely off. Instead of using wisely the opportunity, she took measures for palliating and retaining her unscriptural encumbrances. This might be worldly wisdom: but she thus permanently made hers a schismatical community, and gave up the honourable mission of dispensing the pure light of heavenly wisdom among mankind. How much she had forfeited by this tenacious adherence to the past, was never more clearly seen than when tranquillity returned after the troubles excited by revolutionary France. An opportunity of reconsideration was then given her again. She might, at least, have wiped away some of her most conspicuous disgraces. French power had made a very wide clearance of superstitious fooleries, and unless papal Rome had either not valued,

or not known how to gain the enlightened confidence of mankind, no such blemishes would ever have befouled her churches any more. But old institutions were extensively reinstated; and in their train came back a large proportion of those scandals to the Christian name, by which the Romish clergy earn sorrow or laughter from the more discerning of their own people, and pity or contempt from all the world besides.

An apology has been sought for papal tenacity, in a rule by which Rome, it is thought, has immemorably fettered herself. One of her great claims upon the confidence of mankind has been often rested upon a dignified inflexibility. This is, undoubtedly, a lofty position, but one that would be sometimes found an inconvenient and injurious bar upon reconsideration. It is, however, a position that has not been maintained by the Roman see so steadily as people commonly suppose. Time was, when infants were habitual communicants. Rome departed from this usage, though it was a sacramental one, seven hundred years, or thereabouts, ago. Infants might spill the consecrated wine, or otherwise receive with insufficient reverence, what was now pronounced a positive incarnation of the Deity. The practice, therefore, of bringing them to the communion was allowed quietly to drop into desuetude. About the time of this innovation another sprang up, namely, that of indicative absolutions. These, too, gradually became highly fascinating to both clergy and laity. People were no longer to be dragged to the confessional, for the purpose of hearing there, after an

humiliating exposure, that they must come again, when an irksome penance was performed, to receive a formal re-admission to the right of communicating. Nor then was merely a prayer to be offered, as in former times, that God would forgive them. After the exposure had been wrung from them, they were to be authoritatively absolved at once. Undoubtedly, they were to be told, besides, how to punish themselves; and if they should not do so, or only half do it, a worse penalty was threatened somewhere out of this world; but still one admitting of great mitigation, if money were left for masses, or paid for them by pitying survivors. In the face of Rome's departure from infant communion, precatory forms of absolving, and delay of absolution until earned by penance, it is not easy to make out any very strong case for her inflexibility. These departures prove her capable of giving way, and in most important points. But in showing such flexibility, she has established no new claim upon the confidence of mankind. Her altered practice affects merely such things as raise popular estimation of the clergy, and please all men, by lowering the general sense of moral responsibility.

Rome's inflexibility, therefore, is really reserved for the personal gratification of an order; and for keeping out of every body's way the stern, but wholesome, realities of religion. She proved pliant enough when people were found willing to seek in the clergy an escape from their own onerous responsibilities. Yet ignorance was thus very likely to believe that ordination gives a power, which is no more given to man, than one to change the wind. A sufficient

voucher for this belief was, undoubtedly, withholden by the Council of Trent. But one was supplied by the catechetical committee, which that council nominated, and left sitting. This was the finishing stroke to a system exactly fitted for answering all that human nature wishes in religion. It is a system, however, which labours under a palpable deficiency of evidence. The Bible, every body knows, denies it sufficient authority. This was long sought in tradition, and vainly, as the learned knew. Now all the world is told so, and Rome's defence is rested on development. Her peculiar principles, undoubtedly, were gradually developed. But it does not follow that they sprang from germs of heavenly origin. There are, in fact, strong reasons for tracing them to worldly sources. Such reasons, it is argued, must be fallacious, because the papacy was instituted from on high to keep up sound religion. It is, however, an institution which bore no great sway in early times, when opportunities were best for estimating its pretensions. Authentic history paints its growth in later ages as a series of advantages gained by cunning over barbarism. Among the aids that pressed it onwards, there are even some that none of its friends can hear of without shame. Appeals were made in its behalf, during several ages, to documents which reviving literature undeniably convicted of forgery and falsification. A power, unquestionably divine, could scarcely have stooped for help to man's most unworthy artifices. But hollow as are her claims to the confidence of men, the church of Rome has many holds upon their affections. Men are

easily taken by a venerable aspect, theatrical worship, glittering appliances, and accommodating doctrines. They want, however, very different materials to help them forward in manly virtue and intelligence. Those communities, accordingly, which have soared above the blandishments of papal Rome, have made the greatest social progress. Among them the clergy form a Christian ministry and a liberal profession, not a thaumaturgic priesthood to make men overlook individual responsibility. Their worship, too, is majestic, simple, and rational. It has, therefore, the very qualities most fitted for elevating and enlarging the mind of man. Their serious hours at home are directed by unsparing use of the Bible: which is the only book of heavenly origin, and stamped with certain indications of boundless wisdom and goodness. From such a source can flow none but the best instruction. Additions to it, brought in by man from some other quarter, always have self at bottom. They serve to flatter lofty station, raise an order, and make formalities excuse from change of heart and life. If man will be true to himself, he must not mix religion with such illusions. He must seek improvement by the very helps that are bestowed upon him by that perfect wisdom which alone fully knows human wants and weaknesses. Religious principles, to be trustworthy, must have indisputable claims to a heavenly origin. None can be safe guides which the wit of man has wholly failed of guarding with sufficient evidence; none, which history shows to have prevailed, under cover of ignorance, by the ordinary arts of worldly policy.

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THE END.

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